

# JOURNAL

OF THE

# POLYNESIAN SOCIETY

CONTAINING

THE TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE SOCIETY.

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VOL. XI.

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1902.



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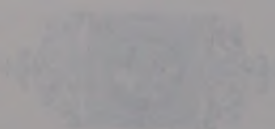
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OF THE SOCIETY

Vol. XI

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# POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

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## OFFICERS FOR 1902.

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E. TREGEAR, F.R. HST. S.

### Council :

S. PERCY SMITH, F.R.G.S.

M. FRASER.

W. L. NEWMAN.

W. H. SKINNER.

W. KERR.

F. P. COREILL.

### Joint Hon. Secretaries and Treasurers, and Editors of Journal :

S. PERCY SMITH and W. H. SKINNER.

---

THE Society is formed to promote the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology, History and Antiquities of the Polynesian races, by the publication of an official journal, to be called "THE JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY," and by the collection of books, manuscripts, photographs, relics, and other illustrations of the history of the Polynesian race.

The term "Polynesia" is intended to include Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia, and Malaysia, as well as Polynesia proper.

Candidates for admission to the Society shall be admitted on the joint recommendation of a member of the Society and a member of the Council, and on the approval of the Council.

Every person elected to membership shall receive immediate notice of the same from the Secretaries, and shall receive a copy of the rules; and on payment of his subscription of one pound shall be entitled to all the benefits of membership. Subscriptions are payable in advance, on the 1st January of each year, or on election.

Papers will be received on any of the above subjects if sent through a member. Authors are requested to write only on one side of the paper, to use quarto paper, and to leave one inch margin on the left-hand side, to allow of binding. Proper names should be written in ROMAN TYPE.

The office of the Society is at present at NEW PLYMOUTH, New Zealand.

The price of back numbers of the Journal, to members, is 2s. 6d.

Vols. i, ii, iii, and iv are out of print.

Members and exchanges are requested to note the change in the Society's Office from Wellington to New Plymouth, to which all communications, books, exchanges &c., should be sent, addressed to the Hon. Secretaries.

# MEMBERS OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

1ST JANUARY, 1902.

The sign \* before a name indicates an original member or founder.

As this list will be published annually, the Secretaries would feel obliged if members will supply any omissions, or notify change of residence.

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

Liliuokalani, ex-Queen of Hawaii, Honolulu, Sandwich Islands  
Rev. R. H. Codrington, D.D., Wadhurst Rectory, Sussex, England  
Rev. Prof. A. H. Sayce, M.A., Queen's College, Oxford, England  
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## CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

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Hare Hongi, Hawera, N.Z.  
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Tati Salmon, Papara, Tahiti.  
Pa-ariki, Ngatangiaa, Barotonga.  
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Churchill, W., 165, Rodney Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.

## ORDINARY MEMBERS.

- \* Atkinson, A. S., F.L.S., Nelson, N.Z.
- \* Adams, C. W., Survey Office, Blenheim, N.Z.
- \* Alexander, Dr. E. W., F.R.G.S., Dunedin, N.Z.
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- \* Mackay, A., Judge N.L.C., Wellington, N.Z.
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- McArthur, J. P., McArthur & Co., Sydney, N.S.W.
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- Marshall, H. H., Marton, N.Z.
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- \* Webster, J., Hokianga, N.Z.
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- \* Wheeler, W. J., Whanganui, N.Z.
- \* Weetman, S., F.R.G.S., c/o Bank of N.Z., 1 Queen Victoria Street, London
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- \* Wilson, D. C., Whangarei, Auckland, N.Z.
- \* Wright, A. B., Survey Department, Auckland, N.Z.
- Williams, Rev. H. W., Gisborne, N.Z.
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- White, Taylor, Wimbledon, Hawke's Bay, N.Z.
- Wilson, A., Survey Office, Auckland, N.Z.
- Wilcox, Hon. G. N., Kauai, Hawaiian Islands
- Watt, Rev. W., Tanna, New Hebrides
- Watt, F. F., Rotorua, N.Z.
- Williams, F. W., Napier, N.Z.
- Wallis, F., Right Rev., Bishop of Wellington, N.Z.
- Whitney, James L., Public Library, Dartmouth, Boston, U.S.A.
- Wilkinson, Percy, R., c/o. Climie & Fairhall, Hawera, N.Z.
- Woodworth, W. McM., Museum Comp. Zoology, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- \* Young, J. L., Lingwood, Strathfield, Sydney, N.S.W.



## LIST OF EXCHANGES.

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THE following is the list of Societies, &c., &c., to which the JOURNAL is sent, and from most of which we receive exchanges. There is a tacit understanding that several Institutions are to receive our productions free, so long as the New Zealand Government allows our correspondence, &c., to go free by post.

Agent-General of New Zealand, 13 Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W.  
 Anthropologische Gesellschaft, Vienna, Austria.

Anthropologie, Société d', Paris.

Anthropologia, Museo Zoologica, Florence, Italy.

Anthropological Society of Australia, c/o Board of International Exchanges, Sydney.

Anthropological Institute of Great Britain, 3 Hanover Square, London, W.

Anthropologie, École d', 15 Rue Ecole de Medicin, Paris.

Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, University, Sydney.

Aute (Te) Students Association, The College, Te Aute, Hawke's Bay, N.Z.

Bataviaasch Genootschap, Batavia, Java.

Buddhist Text Society, 86/2 Jaun Bazaar Street, Calcutta.

Blenheim Literary Institute, Blenheim, N.Z.

Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington.

Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu, H.I.

Canadian Institute, 46 Richmond Street East, Toronto.

Cambridge Philosophical Society, Cambridge, England.

Faculté des Sciences de Marseilles, Marseilles, France.

General Assembly Library, Wellington, N.Z.

Géographie, Société de, de Paris, Boulevard St. Germain 184, Paris.

Historical Society, Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands.

Institute, The Auckland, Museum, Auckland, N.Z.

Institute, The Philosophical, Christchurch, N.Z.

Institute, The Philosophical, Wellington, N.Z.

Institute, The Otago, Dunedin, N.Z.

Japan Society, 20 Hanover Square, London, W.

Kongl, Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitete Akademien, Stockholm, Sweden.

Literary and Historical Society, Quebec, Canada.

Luzac & Co., publishers of Oriental Text, 46 Great Russell St., London, W.C.

Museum, Christchurch.

Museum, The Australasian, Sydney.

Minister of Education, Wellington.

Minister, Right Hon. the Premier, Wellington.

Minister, Hon. The Colonial Secretary, Wellington.

Na Mata, Editor, Suva, Fiji.

New York Public Library, c/o Stevens & Brown, 4 Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.

Public Library, New Plymouth, N.Z.

Public Library, Auckland.

Public Library, Wellington.

Public Library, Melbourne.

Public Library, Sydney.

Peet, Rev. S. D., Ph.D., Editor of "The American Antiquarian," Chicago.

Peabody Museum of Archeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, U.S.A.

- Reading Room, Rotorua, N.Z.  
 Royal Geographical Society, 1 Saville Row, London.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Brisbane.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, c/o G. Collingridge, Waronga,  
 N.S.W.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 70 Queen Street, Melbourne.  
 Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, Adelaide.  
 Royal Society, Burlington House, London.  
 Royal Society of New South Wales, 5 Elizabeth Street, Sydney.  
 Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 87 Park Street, Calcutta.  
 Royal Colonial Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London.  
 Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona, Spain.  
 Smithsonian Institution, Washington.  
 Société Neuchateloise de Géographie, Neuchâtel, Switzerland.  
 Secretary, General Post Office, Wellington.  
 Secretary (Under) Colonial Secretary's Department, Wellington.  
 Secretary (Under) Justice (Native), Wellington.  
 Wisconsin Academy of Science and Arts, Madison, Wisconsin, U.S.A.

# ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY

*Held at New Plymouth, New Zealand, March 6th, 1902.*

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THE Meeting was presided over by Mr. W. Kerr, in the absence of the President. The annual report and balance-sheet were read and passed (they will be found printed in this number of the JOURNAL).

The following officers were elected for the year 1902:—President: Edward Tregear; Council: M. Fraser, F. P. Corkill, and W. H. Skinner (the latter also elected one of the Secretaries); H. W. Saxton re-elected Hon. Auditor.

H. G. Seth-Smith, Esq., M.A., was elected an honorary member of the Society, he having been its first President, and a liberal donor to the Society's funds and to the library.

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## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

*For the Year ending December 31st, 1901.*

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*Presented to the annual meeting of the Society March 6th, 1902, in terms of Rule 13*

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THE Council has much pleasure in presenting this, their tenth report, to the annual meeting. In so doing the Council congratulates members on the Society having completed its first decade, and arrived at an age that denotes its continued existence so far as can be foreseen. Many were the prognostications of failure on our first starting, but we have outlived those, and have had a successful career so far.

It will be remembered that the last annual meeting decided, on the recommendation of the Council, to remove the headquarters of the Society to New Plymouth. This was effected early in the year, and a new Council of local members was elected, only one of the former Council retaining a place at the board. The reason of this change was that, it was found to be very inconvenient having the Council in one place and the secretarial and editorial business of the Society conducted in another. So far, the change has been found to work very well.

Through the courtesy of the Mayor and Councillors of the Borough of New Plymouth, our library has been placed in the Municipal Chambers, where it is available to members on applying to the Secretaries. Book cases have been provided, and the classification of the works commenced. It is hoped that from time to time the funds will admit of some of the exchanges being bound—at present, many valuable pamphlets and other works are not readily accessible for want of binding.

So far as known at present, our losses by death during the last twelve months are two—the Rev. James Chalmers, F.R.G.S., who was killed in New Guinea, and Mr. H. Nicholas, one of our corresponding members, who died at Rarotonga, in April last.

On the 1st January, 1902, our members stand as follows :—

Ordinary Members	...	...	...	189
Life Members	...	...	...	6
Honorary Members	...	...	...	6
Corresponding Members	...	...	...	15
				<hr/>
				216

The above figures show an increase of 12 members over the numbers for the previous years, the increase being in the ordinary members.

The tenth volume of our transactions will be somewhat smaller than usual, the absence of our Translator having prevented the preparation of many of the original papers awaiting publication. We have in hand for the next volume a valuable series of papers on "War Customs of the Maoris" by Elsdon Best, and are promised by Lieut.-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G., a contribution of the History of the Maoris dating from long before their appearance in New Zealand. The results of the observations made by one of our Secretaries during a residence in Niuē Island, accompanied by original papers written by natives of that island, will also appear during the course of the ensuing year.

In financial matters, we hold our own, though the Council regret to report so many members in arrear with their subscriptions. On the 31st of December there were 9 members owing for two years, and 37 owing for one year. Had these subscriptions been paid when due, it would have enabled the Council to have had many volumes in the library bound, and also to have refunded to capital account the amount borrowed to defray cost of copying the Micronesian vocabularies.

The total amount received, including balance from last year of £44 12s. 0½d., was £191 7s. 6½d., the disbursements equalled £146 13s. 4d., leaving a balance of £44 14s. 2d., which will just about defray the amounts payable. The capital account now stands at £63.

S. PERCY SMITH,	}	Hon.
W. H. SKINNER,		Secretaries.







# The Journal of the Polynesian Society.

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## THE POLYNESIAN NUMERALS

ONE, FIVE, TEN.

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BY JOHN FRASER, LL.D., SYDNEY.

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(Continued from page 177, Vol. X.)

### PART II.—THE NUMERAL “FIVE.”

THE first thing that I have to say on this head I will write down as Proposition IV:—*The Polynesian word for ‘five’ is lima, which also means the ‘hand’; it is therefore probable that language-names for ‘five’ are founded on words for ‘hand.’* And that is not merely probable, but certain; and it is also so natural that no proof of this Proposition is needed. I will here mention only three facts:—the Turkish word for ‘fifty,’ that is, *five tens*, is *éli*, and that is formed from *el*, ‘hand,’ *il-ik*, ‘hand’; the Dravidian dialects of India have *kei*, ‘hand,’ and *ei-du* (for *kei-du*), ‘five’; the Indo-Persian *atilang* and *laman* both mean ‘five’ and also ‘hand,’ from roots *ati* and *lam*, as below. Observe here that the Dravidians form the word for ‘five’ from ‘hand,’ not ‘hand’ from ‘five.’

Proposition V.—*Words for ‘hand,’ in several languages, show that the meaning of their base is ‘to hold,’ ‘to grasp.’* The hand is the ‘grasper’; that also is a natural meaning. In science, the monkeys are classified as *quadrumanæ*, because they use their four extremities as hands for grasping. In Scotland, *hadd* means ‘to hold’; even a child will understand you if you say “Hadd it fast; don’t let it fall.” It is a stronger word than ‘have’; *have* simply implies possession

after acquiring; *hadd* means 'to grasp firmly and to hold in continued possession.' And so English legal documents conveying property use a double term, 'to have and to hold.' The original force of the verb *to have* in English has been much weakened by the use of *have* and *had* (*hav-ed*) as auxiliaries, but *hadd* is not used in that way in Scotch.

Language, which, in the process of forming words, has stereotyped many of the original ideas of man, conveys this notion of 'grasping' in the name for 'hand.' *Hand* itself is only a strengthened form of *hadd*; the Sanskrit\* has *har-ana*, 'taking,' 'seizing,' and, as a noun, 'the hand,' from the verb *hri* (*har*), 'to seize, to take, to steal.' From this root comes the Greek ἄρ-π-άζω 'I take, I steal,' and possibly also the noun χεῖρ, 'the hand.' If you should ever be among the courtly Hovas of Madagascar and there wish to be considered polite, you must not use the common word *tanana* for 'hand'; you should say *fandray*, 'the taker.'

It is clear, then, that the hand is that with which we 'take or seize' anything.

Proposition VI.—*In the Aryan languages there is a simple root ga, ka, which means 'to take, to seize.'* As usual, this monosyllable may be amplified by adding on to it single consonants or single syllables. Thus arise the root-forms *gam, gab, kap, kat*; for *m* and *b* on oriental lips are almost the same in sound. Examples here are:—Pāli *ga-hi*, 'taking'; Latin *kap-io* (*capio*), 'I take'; English *grab*, where the rough *r* is thrown in to intensify the sound and the meaning; Malay *chap-ei*, 'seize.'

Proposition VII.—*The consonant of this root ga, gam, etc., may be changed, according to established rules; for example:—*

1. The guttural *g, k* may be softened into a sibilant; as, Sk. *sam*, 'with,' which is akin to Lat. *cum*; Sk. *çat-a*, 100, Gr. ἑ-κατ-ὸν; Lat. *can-is*, 'a dog,' Sk. *çvan*; Sk. *paç-u*, Lat. *pec-u*, 'cattle.'

2. The *g* may be softened into *h*; as, Sk. *ha* (a particle), for the Vedic *gha*, Gr. γῆ; Sk. *hams-a*, 'goose,' Lat. *ans-er*, Germ. *gans*, Eng. *gand-er*.

3. The *g* may be softened into *y*; as, Sk. *yam-a*, 'twin,' Lat. *gem-inus*.

4. The *g* may become the dental *d*; as, Gr. γῆ, 'earth,' whence, *Dē-mētēr*, "Mother-earth." Our children say *dood* for *good*.

\* It should be understood everywhere that I quote the Sanskrit merely as a very ancient tongue, which, by means of its oral and written literature, has preserved many of the oldest forms of Aryan speech in a proximately pure condition. The richness of its vocabulary helps one also to see how easily words were at first made from simple elements. I hold likewise that the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian families of language are closely related in their elemental stock of words.

5. The *g* having been changed into *d*, that *d* may become a liquid *l* or *r*; as, Sk. *daha* (in compounds), 10, Prâkrit *raha*; Lat. *lingua* (for *dingua*), Eng. *tongue*.

6. The *g* may become *p*, *b*, simply or through the influence of an intrusive *v* or *w*; as, Beloochi *gwath*, Persian *bâd*; Bel. *gist*, Pers. *bist*; Gr.  $\kappa\omega\varsigma$  and  $\pi\omega\varsigma$ ; Gr.  $\lambda\acute{\iota}\kappa\text{-}\omicron\varsigma$ , Lat. *lup-us*.

7. The guttural *g* or *k* may become a palatal; as, from root *kap*, Malay *chap-ei*, 'to seize,' as above.

8. The *gh*, that is, *g* aspirated, is dropped when it comes between two vowels, or it becomes *v*; as, Sk. *lagh-u*, 'light,' Lat. *lev-is*; so also *bh*; as, Irish *gabh-ar*, 'goat,' pronounced like *gau-ar*, Lat. *cap-er*.

9. The labials *b* and *p*, when aspirated, are sounded like *f* or *v*; and *m*, when aspirated, becomes *v*, and then *y*; as, Sk. *kâm-a*, '(hot) desire'; Dravidian *kây*, 'to be hot, to burn.'

10. The *k* may become *t*, a process which is going on in Polynesia.

11. In eastern languages, especially in Polynesia, the initial *g* or *k* is very often dropped.

Proposition VIII.—From this root *ka*, *ga*, are formed many words in the languages of Europe, Asia, and Oceania, meaning 'to take hold of,' the 'hand.'

I give some examples of each of these two meanings:—

(A.) To seize, grasp, etc.

1. kapi-o (Lat.), I take (*capio*)
2. kap-o (Maori), to seize
3. kapa - kapa (New Britain), to handle
4. kube-ta (Fiji), to lay hold of
5. ga-hi (Pali), taking
6. ga-hanam (Pali), holding
7. gan-hâti (Pali), take, capture
8. gâng-am (Malay), to grasp in the hand

and, by Prop. VII.—2, 11

9. 'abh-ati (Pali), to take, seize
10. 'ati, 'adi (Aneityum), to take, to take off
11. 'ave (Samoan), to take
12. 'abia (Motu), to take

and, by Prop. VII.—7

13. chap-ei (Malay), to grasp in the arms

(B.) Hand.

1. kai (Weddahs of Ceylon)
2. kei—for kamh, kav, kay? (Dravidian)
3. keka (Polynesian of Paumotu)
4. kha (Naga tribes of India)
5. kappi (ancient Akkadian)
6. kan-im (New Caledonia)
7. khut-i (Caucasian)
8. ga-tu (old Assyrian)
9. ge-tö (Torresian)
10. got (Vayu of Nepal), hand and arm
11. guḇ-blem (Vayu), hand (blem = 'flat')
12. gabh-asti (Sk.), arm

and, by Prop. VII.—2

13. 'ati-lang (Panjab)

and, by Prop. VII.—2

14. hat; hath (Nepal)
15. hatth-o (Pali)

*and, by Prop. VII.—2*

14. hop-u (Maori), to seize

*and, by Prop. VII.—5*

15. labh, lambh (Sk.), obtain, get  
16. lâ (Sk.), to take  
17. lâbha (Sk.), acquisition  
18. leb (Maithili), to take  
19. leh (Aneityum), to take  
20. lau (Fiji), handle  
21. lamb-ano (Greek), I take  
22. lab-ē (Greek), a handle  
23. labh (Beloochi), obtaining

*and, by Prop. VII.—6*

24. pam (Tukiok Is.), to hold  
25. pam-pam-ina (Tukiok Is.),  
to handle  
26. pa-lum (N. Brit.), to handle  
27. pa-ksh (Sk.), to seize

*Other examples are:—*

28. grah ; gras (Sk.), to seize  
29. sham-ala (Arabic), to grasp  
30. ādā (*for* kada ?) (Pali), to take  
31. gamu-ta (Fiji), to take hold of  
32. juw-it (Java), to nip, pinch  
33. chub-it (Malagasy), to nip  
34. a-ngkub (Malagasy), pincers  
35. kham-as (Hebrew), to grasp  
36. 'um-i-ki (Hawaii), to pinch  
37. khab-as (Arabic), to take, grasp

16. hath (Maithili)

17. hath-na ; át (Kashmir)

18. hasta (Sk.),

*and, by Prop. VII.—7*

19. chak ; yak (Naga tribes)

*and, by Prop. VII.—1*

20. çam-an (Sk.)

*and, by Prop. VII.—5*

21. lamh (Gadhelic)

22. lá (Nepal)

23. lam-an (Kashmir)

24. lag (Magar of Nepal)

25. las (Pukshto)

26. a-ring, 'my hand' (Nager t  
the north of Gilgit, in th  
eastern Hindu Kush)

*Other examples are:—*

27. yam-an (Hebrew), right han

28. immi (old Assyrian), righ  
hand

29. ni-kman (Aneityum)

30. lima (Polynesian)

31. thab-ung (Iaian of Loyalt  
Islands)

32. lima-na (New Britain)

33. no-kob-en (Erromanga)

34. rim-ata (Tasmanian)

35. 'a'a-o (= kakao) (Samoan), th  
hand of chiefs

36. gav-é (Santo)

37. sham-aleh (Gipsies of Egypt)

38. ada (New Guinea)

#### EXPLANATORY NOTES.

(A.)—*To grasp.*—No. 1. From *capio* comes *cap-istrum*, 'a handle,' with which compare Nos. 3, 20, 22, 25, 26.—No. 3. New Britain is one of the islands (Melanesian) of the Bismarck Archipelago, east of New Guinea.—No. 5. Páli is one of the Prâkrit or original and common languages of India.—No. 18. Maithili is one of the dialects of the Behar district in Bengal.—No. 19. Aneityum is the most southerly island of the New Hebrides (Melanesian).—No. 23. Tukiok Island is a small island close to New Britain. In the eastern Pacific there is another Duke-of-York island ; so I call this one Tukiok, the native pronunciation of its name,



(B.)—*Hand*.—No. 1. The Weddahs are the aborigines of Ceylon.—No. 2. The Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, etc.) are mostly in the Madras Presidency of India. They are non-Aryan and pre-Aryan.—No. 3. The Paumotu group of islands is far east in the Pacific. Although Polynesian, its dialect has many striking peculiarities, as if from a strong admixture of previous inhabitants.—No. 4. The Naga tribes (Turanian) are on the N.E. frontier of India.—No. 7. Caucasian; *khu-ti* is from one of the many languages spoken in the Caucasus region.—No. 10. Torresians are the Papuan natives of the islands in Torres' Straits between New Guinea and Australia.—No. 11. The Vayus are non-Aryan aborigines in the Central Himalaya region, subject to Nepal.—No. 21. The language of the Scottish Highlanders.—No. 31. Iaian is the native name for the language of Uvéa Is. there. Nengonese is the language of Maré Is. of the same group.—No. 33. Erromanga, one of the southern New Hebrides.—No. 36. Santo, a large island, most northerly of the New Hebrides.—No. 38. The *ada*, 'hand,' of the Koiari tribe on the southern coast of New Guinea, may be the Pāli *ādā*, 'to take.'

Proposition VIII.—Lima, the Oceanic word for 'five,' which also means 'hand,' comes from the root *ga*, *ka*, and is connected with Aryan, Semitic, and non-Aryan words for 'hand.'

This Proposition implies that the mode of counting from five upwards has been by hands—the *quinary* system. I must give some proof of this statement. Hence the three sections that follow.

#### I.—FIVE IS 'HAND.'

(a.) The Roman numerals VI., VII., VIII., are founded on V., which is 'five.' Now V. is a picture of the side view of the thumb and the forefinger when the hand is held up in a natural way; VI. is these two and one finger more, VII. two fingers more, VIII. three fingers more, which exhausts the hand, when the thumb and the forefinger of that hand have been used for 'five'; therefore, the symbol for 'nine' is not based on V., but is IX., that is, X. or 'two hands' with one finger less, as will be shown further on.

(b.) The numeral signs of the old Mayas of Central America correspond with the Roman system; for the numbers under five, they used simply dots; for five a bar, for six a bar and one dot, and so on; for ten, two bars; for nineteen, three bars and four dots; for twenty, four bars.

(c.) The islanders of the Andaman group in the Bay of Bengal are a very primitive people. Their numeration resembles the Australian; for they say 'one,' 'two,' and no more; all beyond is 'several, many, numerous, innumerable.' When they wish to indicate other numbers than 'one,' 'two'—the number 'nine' for instance,—they tap the nose with the fingers of either hand in succession, beginning with the little finger, saying *ūbatūl* ('one'), *īkpôr* ('two'), and for each of the other fingers of that hand, *ankā*, 'and this'; then four fingers of the next hand are held up together, the thumb being turned down; that is 'nine'; at the same moment they say *ardūru*, 'all.' For 'ten,' the one hand is used as for 'five'; but, before the two hands for 'ten'



are held up, they are brought together at the sound of the word *ardūru*, 'all.' They do not use the toes in counting higher numbers. The 'first' in a row of objects is called *ô-kôtap*, the second *tô-koyo-lo*.

(d.) In the Admiralty Islands (Northern Melanesia), *sangop* is the word for 'ten'; but, when using it, the natives hold out the two hands with the fingers pointing forwards, bring the two open hands together, and clap them *once*. They use subtraction to express 'eight' and 'nine'—*anda sip*, 9; *anda huap*, 8; *sip* is 'one' and *huap* is 'two.'

These examples are sufficient, I think, to show that 'five' is 'a hand.'

## II.—'LIMA' IS FROM 'KA.'

Next, my Proposition requires me to show that *lima* comes from the root *ka*, *ga*. That is an easy task. Thus:—

### Root *ka*, *ka-m*

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>gam-a</i> , i.e., <i>kam-a</i> ,<br>'hand' | 3. <i>dim-y</i> (Prop. VII.—4), i.e.,<br><i>dim-é</i> or <i>dim-a</i> , 'five' |
| 2. <i>ni-k(a)m-a-n</i> ,<br>'hand'               | 4. <i>lim-a</i> (Prop. VII.—5), 'hand'<br>and 'five'                           |

(1.) is Sanskrit; (2.) is from Aneityum, of the New Hebrides, where the *ni* is a common demonstrative prefix; (3.) is from Madagascar; and (4.) is the Oceanic word in question.

## III.—ARYAN AND OTHER COGNATES OF 'LIMA.'

Next, *Lima* is cognate, in origin, to some Aryan, Semitic, and non-Aryan words for 'five' and 'hand,' all of which come from the same primal root *ka*.

### (a.) Aryan.

1. †*ka-ka*; cf. Prop. VII.—(B.),  
3 and 35
2. †*kam-ka*
3. †Gr. (old) *κεν-κε*
4. Lat., *quin-que*
5. Gadhelic, *co(mh)-ig*, *cu-ig*
6. Gr., *πέμ-πε*, *πέντε*
7. Sk., *pan-cha*
8. Old Pers., *pean-che*, *pan-dj*
9. Pre-Roman tribes, *pum-p*
10. German, *fün-f*; Goth., *fim-f*
11. English, *five*

All these words mean 'five'

† These are obsolete in the Aryan  
tongues.

### (b.) Semitic.

1. Old Assyrian, (y)*im-mi*, 'right  
hand'
2. Hebrew, *yam-an*, 'right hand'  
,, *hham-esh*, 'five'
3. Arabic, *khams*, 'five'  
,, *sham-aleh*, 'hand'

### (c.) Non-Aryan.

1. Akkadian, *kap-pi*, 'hands'
2. Dravidian, *kei*, 'hand'; (k)*ei*  
*du*, 'five'
3. Santo, *gav-é* (*gamh-e*), 'hand'
4. Aneityum, *ni-kman*, *ni-jman*  
'hand'
5. Vayu, *gub-blem*, 'hand'
6. Tasmanian, *rim-ata*, 'hand'

Strange as it may seem, this evidence shows that the Gaelic *lamh* of Scotland and the Polynesian *lim-a*, 'hand, five,' are of the same origin, but with many intermediate links to connect them.

Proposition IX.—*Lima is Melanesian, Polynesian, Micronesian, Papuan, and Indonesian in its distribution.*

(A.) *Melanesia.*

(a.) For 'hand,' these are the variations found in the New Hebrides:—*Lima, rima, jima, juma, ma, nel-limi, lime-gi*; irregular words for 'hand' are *gav-é, no-kob-en; raga; vari, vera, fera, ver.*

(b.) For 'five':—*Lima* (alone, or with *i-, e-, a-, ki-, mo-*, prefixed), *rima, lim*; also *tava-ligma, gai-lima, kadi-lum, kari-lum, suk-rim*, all of which five words mean 'one hand.'

(c.) For 'hand,' Fiji says *lig-a*, that is, *lim* nasalized, and New Britain has *lima-na*.

(B.) *Polynesia.*

(a.) In Fornander's list of Oceanic numerals, there are fifteen examples of words for 'five' from the islands occupied by the brown Polynesians. Of these words 5 are *lima*, 6 are *rima*, 1 is *nima*, 1 is *ima*, 1 is *ringa*, and 1 (Paumotu) is *aggoka*.

(b.) In his list also there are twenty-two words for 'five' from the islands of the East Indian Archipelago. Of these 10 are *lima*, 3 are *rima*, 1 is *nima*, 2 are *limo*, 1 is *lima-k*, 1 is *lema*, 1 is *lep-lim*, 1 is *lumi*, 1 is *run-toha*, 1 is *ma-toha*; the last two appear to me to mean 'one hand.'

(C.) *Micronesia.*

(a.) *Lima* in all Micronesia.

(b.) Although Formosa and the Philippines are only adjacent to Micronesia, yet a census of their words for 'five' may be taken here. I have a list of thirty-two localities in these islands. Of these 15 have *lima*, 2 have *tima*, 5 *rima*, 3 *rima* with a prefix (*da-, tu-*), 1 *hrima*, 1 *lima-ngan*, 1 *nimo*, 1 *magal*, 1 *hasub*, 1 *rassoum*, 1 *laleup*.

(D.) *Papuan.*

(a.) Of eighteen districts on the south coast of New Guinea (British territory), 1 has *lima* with the prefix *ko*, 1 has *limi*, 4 have *ima*, 1 has *nima-na*, 1 has *nim* with the prefix *kwei*, 1 has *ima'a*; the other words seem to have no connection with this root.

(b.) The Torresians have no words for 'five,' but the Australians at Cape York, opposite to them, say *ungatua*, 'the whole' (*sc.* hand) for 'five.'

(E.) *Indonesia.*

This term, as I use it, includes the whole area of the East Indian Archipelago. For this area I have Wallace's list of words from 59 localities, and Crawford's from 14. Of words for 'hand,' Wallace

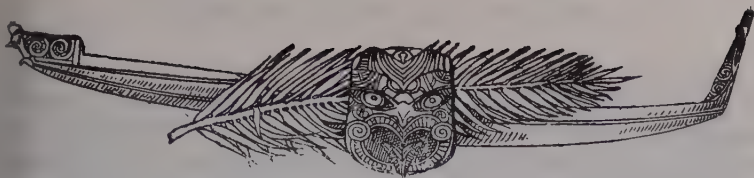
gives the following varieties, viz., *tangan*, *lima*, *rima*, *niman*, *lima-mo*, *fahan*, *gia*, *ala*, *kanin*, *mot*; additional words from Crawfurd are *hasta*, *chas*, *langan*, which three are evidently from the root *kam*. *Hasta* is a Sanskrit word for 'hand,' and, although my Sanskrit Dictionary gives a different account of it, I take it to be for *ha(m)s-ta*, from *kam*; *chas* is for *kams*, and *lang-an* is from *kam* nasalized.

In Wallace's list, *lima* appears seventeen times for 'five'; variations are *rima*, *nima*, *lim*, *en-lima*, *de-lima*, *lep-lim*, *lima-nu*. In Crawfurd's fourteen, *lima* appears 6 times; other forms are *limo*, *la-lima*, *lime*, *lema*, *rim*, each once, *dimé* once; other words for 'five' are *gangsai*, *poncho* (Sk.), *luwi*. Crawfurd cannot explain the derivation of *gangsai*. I take it to be for *gams-al* from our root *gam*.

In fine, from all these considerations and arguments, I am clearly of opinion that the Polynesian word for 'five' is the 'hand' as the 'grasper,' and that it comes from a primitive root *ka*, *kam*.

While this is going through the Press, an important confirmation of the basis of my arguments has come under my eye. Philologists are sometimes asked, Where is this root of which you make so much? Does it exist anywhere? Those who read these pages will see that it has many guises and disguises in many languages, yet it is clear that the root *gam*, *kam* did once exist. But I can produce proof that it exists now. In a recently published dictionary of the language of the island of Efaté, New Hebrides, I find (page 88) these entries:—" *kam*, 'native tongs,' literally, that which seizes, grasps; (dialects)—*kau*, as a noun, 'tongs,' as a verb, 'to grasp with the hand'; *kam-kam*, 'scissors'; *kam-ut-ia*, 'to grasp with the fingers'; *kam-i*, 'to seize, grip, take with the fingers'."

(To be continued.)



## THE COCOS (OR KEELINGS) ISLANDS.

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TRANSLATED BY H. W. SAXTON, F.L.S.

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THESE notes are taken from a paper by M. de la Croix, the indefatigable Malaysian Explorer, as published in "La Géographie" IV. No. 11, 1901, 15th November :—"This account is given by the oldest inhabitant (80 years old). The Keeling group lies in 10° S Lat. South East of Sumatra. An adventurer named Hare settled there in 1827 with a number of Malays. The year previous to this a Captain Ross, the grandfather of the present owner (whose son is now being educated in Nelson, New Zealand) visited these islands ; finding them uninhabited, he proceeded to Scotland to engage emigrants to occupy them, but during his absence Hare took possession of the group. The two parties did not live amicably together, and soon most of the Malays went over to Ross's side. Hare then left for Singapore where he died. Ross's party and their decedents have been in undisputed possession. From 1857 the group was annexed to Great Britain. The language spoken is Malay. The present number of inhabitants is 633, a third of whom are emigrants from Banda. The annual increase is 8 %, female children predominating the male in number ; the mortality is great among the children owing to the want of proper care, and want of milk, as no grass can grow on the sandy soil to keep cows on.

The men wear flannel shirts and white trousers and shoes, and straw hats. The women wear the Malay *Sarong*. They live in European style using chairs and tables, and table cloths. The wives appear to have more authority than the husbands. The *beriberi* is not a common disease among them, it is supposed to be caused by eating damaged rice. Tetanus frequently causes death. Goitre and rheumatism are common. The water used contains much lime.

The Banda emigrants are not admitted into the country except by permission of the supreme Council of the Islands, and until then, are treated as inferiors, and cannot leave their houses after 9 p.m. except with a special permit. They are nominally Mahomedans, visiting the Mosque once a year. Schools are in a backward state, but the young people are eager to learn a trade.



There are eight working hours a day, and by co-operation the export 1,000 tons of copra; it takes 4,500,000 cocoanuts to make this quantity; it fetches 260 f. per ton. Wages are 10.50 f. per week. They get ground free and material to build a house. Paper money bearing the signature of Mr. Ross, is in circulation, payable by his agent at Batavia.

Cases of grave crime are brought before a jury of notables, Mr. Ross being the president. There is no prison or police.

The first ship built here was of 178 tons. There are no postal arrangements, but a ship—The Tweed—which goes to Batavia every three months, keeping up a communication, the return of which is always followed by a violent epidemic of Influenza.\*

The winds being strong, the heat is never very great. Mr. Ross has planted wind brakes of Bentongong (*alophyllum*) on the New Salina, as they resist the cyclones, which devastate these islands every year. There are some splendid Indian fig trees 12 years old, and fruit trees common to the Malay Archipelago.

From April to October the only safe anchorage against the violent winds which blow continuously from October to April is at Flying Fish Cove on the North side. There is no safe anchorage from December to March, as a gale may come from any quarter.

The profits from cocoanuts is large; the nuts are small, but hold a large quantity of Copra; the natives say they grow more plentifully near where man is present and where they can hear the human voice.

The sea is boisterous round the islands, the most favourable time for landing is August and September. The swell is not so great in January and February but this is the time when the cyclones attain their greatest frequency.

Average days of rain 91; July, August, September are the wettest. Mostly S.E. and to E. winds. February and March, variable winds. July is the coldest month—24.7C. December is the hottest—27.9C.

The islands were discovered by Captain Keeling of the East India Co. in 1608–9 and consist of eight islands and islets.

CHRISTMAS ISLAND, an isle to East of the Keelings group, in 12° S Lat., is very mountainous, 300 feet high, 10 square miles in area and contains rich phosphates. One hill contains 2,500,000 tons of phosphates, which is exported by a company. Isolated trees of bastard teak (*berrya ammonilla*) of central India are found; the rest are soft-wood trees. In these woods are large numbers of pigeons which are easily killed. Twelve years ago this island was uninhabited, but the company has introduced 250 Chinese.

\*This is also generally the case in Niuē, indeed in other islands also :—ED.





## NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,

AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,  
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-  
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED  
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

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BY ELSDON BEST OF TUHOE-LAND.

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*“Ka tuwhera te tawaha o te riri, kaore e titiro ki te ao mārama”*  
(When the gates of war are open, man reckes not of the world of life.)

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### PART I.

THE following notes on war customs, practises and ceremonies of the Maori have been collected by myself from members of the Tuhoe or Urewera tribe, a people who, though numerically small, have ever been noted for their prowess in war. Although I have in my note books 816 separate notes concerning war, yet information is still lacking in order to complete the description of divers ancient rites, &c., as performed by the old-time priests. However, I have been led to arrange these notes by the desire to place on record any hitherto unpublished matter which they may contain.

#### ORIGIN OF WAR.

According to Maori mythology the origin of war was the quarrel which arose among the children of Rangi (the Heavens, the Sky-Father) and Papa (the Earth-Mother). The offspring of the primal pair were Tane, Tu, Rongo, Tangaroa and Tawhirimatea. They quarrelled over their *māra* (cultivation or farm) the name of which was

Pohutukawa which, according to one of my elders of the Ngati-Awa tribe, stands for the world. Other versions state that these people quarrelled in regard to the separation of their parents, for you must know that the sky originally lay close upon the earth and thus kept their progeny in darkness, until Tane forced them apart. Tane is the origin, parent or tutelary deity of trees, of forests, of birds.\* Tu is the supreme war god of the New Zealand branch of the Polynesian race. Tangaroa is the Maori Neptune, *i.e.*, he is the origin or parent of all fish, but not of the great waters. Wai-nui, also of celestial origin, is the mother of waters, origin alike of the ocean and of streams. Rongo is patron deity or origin of peace and peace-making and of the art of cultivation. Tawhirimatea is the origin of fierce winds. Haumia, a younger child, is not mentioned as having joined in the primal quarrel.†

Tane attacked Tangaroa, using a net as a means to overcome him. The slain of Tangaroa drifted ashore in great multitudes. They were eaten by the children of Tane. Tangaroa assailed Tane, his weapon being a snare, and the children of Tane fell in their thousands.

Now Rongo of the peaceful mind had asked that he might have the direction of affairs, in order to avoid trouble, but Tu the fierce-eyed would not consent. Hence the saying: "*Koia moenga kura, koia moenga toto.*" Had Rongo obtained the direction of the affairs of this world, then would all men have turned their minds to tilling the earth, peace would have prevailed, and war have been an unknown thing. Some peoples have inherited the peace and prosperity of which Rongo was the origin. Others have inherited the evils originated by Tu, by Tane and Tangaroa.

The name of the place where these beings quarrelled was Aurora. But Rongo and Ioio-whenua and Pū-tē-hue approved not of this fratricidal war, hence they migrated to Whitiwhiti-ora. But the struggle went on among the others, until a great evil came upon them—they turned each to the eating of the others' dead. Then Rongo and Ioio-whenua went to make peace between them. Tu and Tawhirimatea consented, but Tane and Tangaroa would have none of peace. Thus the quarrel continued from one generation to another, even unto the present day. Hence we still see the children of Tane (*i.e.*, birds) being taken by the snare, and the descendants of Tangaroa (*i.e.*, fish) being slain by net and hook. (It must be borne in mind

\* That is, in modern New Zealand; there are indications that Tane held the supreme position as lord of all gods and men in a former period, as he appears to have done also in Hawaii.—ED.

† Haumia is goddess of the fern root—the staff of life of the old-time Maori.—ED.

that the Maori of New Zealand claims descent from both Tane and Tangaroa.)

After this came the quarrel among the stars, when they became scattered and the scales (*unahi*) of Takero fell and are seen in the form of the star (or constellation?) termed Koro-takataka, by the side of the Milky Way (Mangoroa).

After this came the struggle between Maui and Hine-nui-te-Po (Goddess of Hades) as to whether or not man should grasp eternal life—and Maui fell. Then came the war of Uenuku and Heta and Tuhuruhuru and Te Makaue.\* Then Te Ra-kungia and Te Moana-waipu and other battles and struggles of far Hawaiki. Also, I believe that the scene of the contest of Haere, Maru, Kahukura, Māhu and Kauae-taheke, anent the slaying of Tautu-porangi, must be placed in Hawaiki.

We will now leave these old-time wars of the immediate descendants of Rangi and Papa, and turn to war as practised by that branch of the Polynesian race which has been located in New Zealand for probably 950 years. It is very probable that the descendants of the first settlers in New Zealand were by no means so warlike as the people who migrated to this land some twenty generations ago, but the Maori of these isles constituted a most warlike people when visited by early European voyagers.

#### CAUSES OF WAR.

The principal causes of war are admirably put in a well-known aphorism: "*He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata*"—By women and land are men lost. Albeit the Maoris were not an exogamous people, yet truly were women the causes of many sanguinary wars in ancient Maori-land, while land, so prized by the Maori, can scarcely take second place. Another prolific cause of war was *kanga* or *kai-upoko*, terms which we are pleased to translate as "cursing," although their expressions bear no resemblance to what we understand as such. However, the terms made use of were looked upon as most deadly insults, and anyone using them against another person, unless that person were a slave, would require to prepare to back up his remarks with the Polynesian equivalent of the mailed fist. In modern times a *kanga* has often been condoned by the present of a greenstone ornament (the jewels of Maoridom) to the injured party, but in the days of yore human life alone could atone. Probably the best-known historical incident of this kind is that known as the "Curse of

\* This war is historical. There is little doubt that it occurred about the end of the 13th century, in the neighbourhood of Tahiti, Barotonga and adjacent islands.—Ep.

Manaia," which was launched against the famous priest Ngatoro-rangi. But it was not well, even for a chief, to insult the priests so old, as Manaia and his tribe found to their cost.

In times long passed away the Taupo district was held by the tribes Ngati-Hotu and Ngati-Kurapoto. The sons of Tuwharetoa, chief of the Kawerau district, near Te Teko, said to their father, "Let us lift the war trail," but Tu said, "Not so! I remain here to finish the carving of my house, Te Korotiwha." His sons persisted; then Tu said, "*Haere i a tuku noa, i a heke noa, e popo e anea, mau ka oti atu oti atu.*"\* These words illustrate that form of offence to native manner known as a *whakamania* or *whakamanioro*. The sons, in high dudgeon, went their way—to meet defeat at Kaka-tarae. Then Rangi-tu and Tangaroa of Taupo uttered a *kanga* against the defeated ones, on account of their having taken food from the preserves of Hine-kahoro in their flight. At this curse the tribe of Tuwharetoa rose and marched on Taupo, defeating the tribes of that place and occupying their lands, which their descendants still hold. Hence the Taupo district was lost and won for that insult.

Koraria, a woman of the Pahi-poto sub-tribe, was jeered at by some people of Ngati-Pukeko, and to square accounts launched a curse against them. The children of Pukeko called on their relatives of Ngati-Awa, and the combined forces marched against Te Pahi-poto and defeated them. Te Pahi-poto then attacked the Warahoe tribe of Wai-o-hau, who were related to Ngati-Awa. Warahoe then rose and slew many of Te Pahi-poto, including the chief Te Maihu. Te Pahi-poto then besieged and took the two Warahoe forts of Otipa and Toki-tareke, expelling Warahoe, who then fled to Taupo, from whence they were driven away after the Orona battle, and finally found refuge at Rua-tahuna and Te Whaiti in the Urewera country, at which latter place they are now living. Meantime the Urewera tribe had risen to avenge the defeat of Warahoe at Otipa. They attacked Te Pahi-poto, who slew the chief Taurua, and called upon Ngati-Awa and Te Arawa for assistance. The combined force marched on Rua-tahuna and attacked the Taumata-o-Te-Riu fort, but failed to score. The 400 bushmen of Tuhoe raided the Arawa country, inflicting a crushing defeat on that tribe at Lake Rere-whakaitu, killing their principal chiefs. Te Arawa then joined the Waikato, Taupo and Ngati-Wha tribes in a great effort to crush the Urewera or Tuhoe people, but had to retreat from the inhospitable ranges of Tuhoe-land, losing the principal chief, Tai-hakoa, at Arikirau. Tuhoe then marched on Taupo and, in one great effort, broke the power of the confederacy on the bloody field of Orona. Then peace was made. But the man who

\* This was equal to saying that they could go to Hades.



laughed at Koraria beneath the ramparts of Puketapu had sent many hundreds of souls down to Hades.

It will be seen from the above that ridicule was a dangerous means of amusement in olden times, and might well lead to long and bloody feuds.

The treacherous act of slaying termed *kohuru* was often the cause of war. Once upon a time two children from the Onekawa fort at Ohiwa were amusing themselves by flying a kite on the mud flats below the fort. The kite descended at Te Mawhai fort and the cord became entangled in the palisades of that stronghold. The children ascended to the fort to release their kite, but were caught and slain by the people of Te Mawhai. Full payment for this act was exacted by the slaughter known as Te Karihi-potae, but the end was not yet, and many fights followed as a result of the slaying of the children.

In like manner the treacherous slaying of a child was the cause of the expulsion of the Maru-iwi tribe from the Waimana district some nine generations ago, and their return to the Napier side, their original home.

When Pare-whete of Te Aroha placed under-cooked food before her husband Wairangi, some ten generations ago, she probably did not foresee the full consequences of her act. But the incisive remarks passed by Wairangi on that occasion led to reprisals on the part of the relatives of his wife, although eventually they were defeated with great slaughter, even so that Waihou River ran red to the sea. And their allies who were ascending that river, when they met the crimson tide with its burden of lifeless bodies hurrying down to their ancestor Wai-nui (god of the great waters), knew that they were too late to save the day, and that the *umu mata*\* of Wairangi was avenged.

Theft was another cause of war. When Ngati-Manawa were visiting the Thames people some four generations ago, Harehare of the former tribe stole a stone axe, possibly to recompense himself for the fatigue of the journey. When the theft was discovered, Ngati-Maru of the Thames marched to Whirinaki, under Taraia and others, and besieged Ngati-Manawa in the fort Takatakanga, and had not Tuhoe made a night march out from Rua-tahuna to aid Ngati-Manawa it would have fared ill with the sons of Manawa.

Another insult only to be wiped out with much blood was that known as *kai pirau*, a ghoulish act, viz., the exhuming and eating of a buried person. When Ngati-Manawa dug up the body of Tama-hi, cooked and ate it, the same was a *casus belli* for Ngati-Pukeko, who marched inland and defeated Ngati-Manawa at Rau-tawhiri, where Bird's accommodation house stands at the Rangi-taiki ford, near Fort

\* Underdone food.



Galatea, after which they took possession of Te Whaiti district. The cause of their second war against Manawa and Ngati-Whare was the slaughter of the Ngati-Pukeko women and children at Niho-whare while the fighting men were absent on the war trail in the Wai-karekare country.

The dread *makutu* (witchcraft) was also a frequent cause of war. Ngati-Awa accused Tuhoe of bewitching one of their chiefs, and this led to a series of fights, ambushes, reprisals, &c., which culminated in the decisive engagement at Te Kaunga\* where Ngati-Awa was signally defeated.

The custom of human sacrifice to give prestige to certain ceremonies of old was also productive of much trouble. Such sacrifices were made when a chief's daughter was tattooed, at the building of an important house, canoes, &c. Sometimes slaves were utilised for these purposes, but it was well to capture a person of another tribe and slay him for the purpose because it provided such a lovely taunt to hurl at that tribe, even for many generations. For one could say to them many years after, "You are a people of no account whatever, in fact you are my slaves; you were killed for the tattooing of my ancestor." This would be a most delightful remark to make, and comforting withal to the maker, albeit bitter war might ensue.

Another item which often gave rise to much trouble was the *maronoko* or *kokoti ihu waka* or *ihu taua*. When a tribe had suffered grievous injury they would send a war party out to obtain blood vengeance. They would march for the enemy's country and would probably slay the first person they could find, as an *ihu taua* or "flying fish crossing the bows of a canoe." The slain person would possibly belong to a totally different tribe to that which had been the cause of the sending forth of the war party, but that made no difference to the Maori mind, and the above act was fully in accordance with Maori *tikanga* (custom). But it was a bad thing for the "flying fish." One can readily understand what extended trouble such an occurrence might well cause.

Whakia and Te Korua, two women of Tuhoe, were slain by Ngati Haka, of Rangi-taiki. Tuhoe sent a party to gain *utu* for the deaths. They went by Pu-kareao, and at Horomanga met with a man whom they at once killed as an *ihu taua*. On turning the body over they found the man to be one Tama-hi of Ngati-Pukeko. However, the slaying of the "flying fish" had satisfied Tuhoe, who returned home. The subsequent war, following on Ngati-Manawa eating the body of Tama-hi, has already been related.

When the *tuā* rite was about to be performed over Te Wharekohuru, infant child of Tautari of Ngati-Pukeko, that chief sent

\* In about the year 1834,

force of his people to slay one Tarewa-a-rua, of Ngati-Manawa, as a human sacrifice in honour of the *tuātanga* of his child, *i.e.*, the rite by which the *tapu* is taken off the newly born child. The force was defeated, but the incident helped to keep the inter-tribal feud alive.

The neglect to prepare food for guests, although not to be extolled as an act of courtesy, would not usually be deemed good cause for slaughtering one's hosts. However, Tuhoe of Rua-tahuna and that ilk considered it to be so, as we shall see anon.

Ngati-Mahanga of Te Whaiti had called upon Tuhoe to assist them in a struggle against Ngati-Hineuru of Tarawera. Tuhoe raised a war party, which proceeded to Te Whaiti. Ngati-Mahanga, however, for some unexplained reason, failed to provide food for their allies. Tuhoe, enraged at this slight, proceeded to deride their hosts by singing a *ngeri* or song of derision, after which they protested with spear and club to such purpose that a select assortment of Ngati-Mahanga were soon ready for the ovens, and the bushmen of Rua-tahuna did forthwith proceed to cook and eat those whom they had come to succour, thus allaying the pangs of hunger and clearing off the insult at the same time.

Probably no greater insults could be offered to a Maori tribe than the *kai pirau* before-mentioned and the fashioning of fish hooks, spear heads, &c., from the bones of the dead.

Ngati-Mahanga raided the Waiau country and slew Parahaki of Tuhoe. Tuhoe replied by killing Te Ranga and others of Ngati-Mahanga, who retaliated with a *kai pirau*. Ta-whakamoe of Tuhoe was slain by Ngati-Manawa at Oputara. Ngati-Mahanga carried the body to Te Whaiti, hung it to a tree, cut up, cooked and ate it, fashioning certain bones into *makoi* (barbed points for bird spears). Tuhoe then marched on Te Whaiti, and slew many of Ngati-Mahanga near the Cañon of Toi.

Ngati-Maru of the Thames had raided the shores of the Bay of Plenty and had a pleasant time among the subjects of Tama-i-waho. They took back to Hauraki some of Ngai-Tai and Ngati-Ira tribes, presumably as slaves. Shortly afterwards, Te Whata son of Tu-te-rangianini of Hauraki died and it was said that Ngai-Tai had bewitched him, and so caused his death by arts of sorcery. Ngati-Maru rose and, without interfering with those of Ngai-Tai living at Huaraki, came south and defeated that section of Ngai-Tai living in the Bay of Plenty, in the battle known as Pare-paopao. This led to Ngati-Maru being attacked by Te Whakatohea at Wai-aua, and the sanguinary battle of Paenga-toitoi was lost and won. And also to another expedition southwards by Ngati-Maru, when they took the Whakatohea *pa*, Te Papa.

Tuhoe had arisen in their wrath and extinguished the fire that for seven generations had burned within the vale of Te Whaiti-nui-a-Toi.

The remnants of the Pu Taewa were flying to far lands, or camping upon their footsteps in the dark forests of the west. Then the Rongo Tawhaki, Tu, Te Riu, Tamakaimona, and other *hapu* of Tuhoe, settled at Te Whaiti, in order to hold those lands.

After this, word came of trouble at Te Pa-puni. Mahia a son of Te Mihi of Tama-kai-moana had been slain by the Whakatohea. Hence the food products of the land were placed under *tapu*. The Pa-puni people, allied to Ngati-Kahungunu, whom Te Mihi had married into, committed the sacreligious act termed *Kai-parapara*, by eating of those *tapu* products. Te Mihi came over and called upon Tuhoe to rise and destroy the offenders. Tama-kai-moana and some of the other *hapu* left Te Whaiti and, marching on Te Pa-panui succeeded, after a long series of fights, in conquering that district and driving off the survivors, save and except Wi Tipuna and his people with whom they were related.

Such anecdotes of the causes of savage frays and wars might be continued indefinitely, but we have given sufficient to show how even a laugh or hasty word might cause a bloody feud to last for generations.

The Maori is a singular mixture of suspicion and foolish credulence. They appear ever to suspect a person's motives in all dealings with them, a feeling doubtless ingrained through many generations of war, discord and treacherous acts. He was a wise native who said to an early European writer, "Never trust a Maori; do not let a native walk behind you when travelling; do not even trust me, your friend for some day I may remember that I have suffered at the hands of your ancestors or race and so take the earliest opportunity of killing you." This is purely Maori. It illustrates their intensely revengeful nature and shows how a feud might be continued for centuries.

Suspicion and caution are ingrained in the Maori. A short while back there died in the Rangitiki valley an old man, who was an interesting relic of the old fighting days. This old fellow had retained the caution and suspicion necessary to retain life in *pre-Pakeha* times. To travel with him along a bush tract was instructive and amusing withal, and I would purposely let him walk ahead of me that I might watch his interesting antics and eccentric capers. Were a large tree to be passed on the trail side he would advance noiselessly until close to it and then bound past it with a most agile spring, jumping away from the tree. The sudden sight of a shadow would cause a like exhibition of the old gentleman's activity.

At the same time the Maori was sometimes credulous to the verge of idiocy. When the northern tribes were raiding the Ngati-Ira of Wellington and surrounding peoples, they slaughtered numbers of the Wairarapa natives until Te Rau-paraha evolved a plan by which to break the power of those people without the attacking force incurring

any risk. He therefore invited them to a feast at which peace should be made. The guests were judiciously distributed among their hosts and the food was placed before them. At a given signal, concealed weapons were drawn and the befooled guests murdered to a man. This was a glaring case of *kohuru* (treachery), but the previous treatment of their relatives of Wellington and Porirua, by the invaders, should have warned the people of the Shining Waters.\*

When the hosts of Waikato were attacking the Ngati-Awa stronghold of Nga-motu in 1831 their charge was repulsed, the discharge of the cannonade loaded with scrap iron and spikes, worked by European whalers, tearing lanes through the massed besiegers. Waikato then asked to be allowed to enter the fort in order to make peace. Strange to relate Ngati-Awa would have admitted the enemy had it not been for the strenuous opposition of Barret and other whalers.

When the treacherous Te Kooti attacked the Huke fort at Mohaka, finding that he could not take the place, he induced Rutene, a chief of the *pa*, to let them go inside, promising not to harm the defenders. Of course a great slaughter was the result, only some women and children escaping. Several of these gentle followers of Te Kooti who took part in the Mohaka and Poverty Bay massacres, are now near neighbours of mine, and are still firm believers in their old leader, his acts, methods and so-called religion.

Tu-akiaki of Ngati-Kohatu yearned for the life of Te Mai-tara-nui of Tuhoe anent the slaying of Tiwaewae of Te Tutira. To induce Te Mai' to visit him he gave his sister, Te Motu-o-ruhi, as a wife to Te Mai'. Then a feast was prepared for the pair, who were invited to visit Tu-akiaki. When they arrived and were seated in the reception ground, Tu-akiaki arose weapon in hand and addressed Te Mai, who at once grasped the fact that his time had come. He accepted the decree of fate in a truly Maori manner, saying:—" *Tē rangona te reka o to kai, E Tu-akiaki!*" i.e., "I fail to enjoy your hospitality, O Tu-akiaki!"†

It is surprising to note the apparently reckless confidence with which small parties of natives would await attack by overwhelming numbers, and at times when a retreat might safely be effected. That confidence however was sometimes well borne out by a desperate and successful resistance, as when eighty men of Taranaki, under Wiremu Kingi and his brother, held the Namu *pa* at Opunake against five hundred Waikato armed with guns, and caused the crestfallen northerners to return home unsuccessful.

\* *Vide* this JOURNAL, Vol. VIII, p. 225, for particulars of this event.—ED.

† *Vide* this JOURNAL, Vol. X, p. 41, for particulars of Te Mai-tara-nui's death.—ED.



## TREATMENT AND TRAINING OF THE YOUNG.

From the early age of five days, male children were dedicated to the two great services of Maori economy—War and Labour. On the birth of a male child it was taken by a priest to the spring, pond, or creek set apart by ancient custom for the observances of certain rites pertaining to Maori religion, and bearing upon birth, death, war, witchcraft, etc. Each native village was provided with a sacred stream or pond, which same was known as the *wai tapu* (the sacred waters) or *wai taua*, or *wai whakaika*. In this sacred water the priest performed over the child the ceremony of *tu-ora*, the purpose of which was to endow the child with vitality (*hau-ora*), with physical and mental vigour. The mother and child were then kept within the *whare kohanga* (nest house), a shed specially set apart for them, for five or six days, when the *Tuā* rite was performed in order to take the *tapu* or sacredness off the child and mother. This was done by a priest who took the child into the stream or pond and sprinkled water over it. There were also several invocations repeated by him in order to lift the *tapu* and endow the child with strength, health, a clear mind, wisdom and bravery. This baptismal ceremony was not only for the purpose of removing the *tapu* but also a dedication of the child, his strength, sagacity, etc, to the service of Tu, the supreme and prime war god of the Maori.

The following is an invocation recited at that time in order to instil the qualities of bravery and dexterity into the child :—

“ Korikori tama ki tua  
 Ka riri ki tua  
 Mau huata ki tua  
 Kia niwha tama ki tua  
 Mau patu tama ki tua  
 Mau taiaha tama ki tua ”  
 &c., &c.

“ Lissome be the boy, through the *tua*  
 Quick to anger, through the *tua*  
 To wield the spear, through the *tua*  
 Let the boy be fierce, through the *tua*  
 To bear weapons, through the *tua*  
 To carry the halbert, through the *tua* ”\*

All the various weapons were thus mentioned, as also the duties and labours to be performed by the child in after years.

\* The author is not responsible for the translations of the *karakias* to follow. They present many difficulties in finding suitable words in English to express the meaning intended by the priests of old, and, indeed, long explanations would be necessary in most cases. All Maori compositions of this nature leave much to be filled in by the hearers, who were accustomed to them, and readily understood the references. It is quite possible the meanings have sometimes been missed; even the Maoris themselves cannot now explain their old *karakias* fully.—ED.



The priest continued :—

“ Tena tua ka eke kai runga kai tenei tamaiti  
Ko tua o nga koromatua  
Tena tua ka eke, ko tua o nga pukenga  
Tena tua ka eke, ko tua o te putanga  
Ki te whai ao, ki te ao marama.”

“ Now does the *tua* affect this child—  
The *tua* of the ancient elders.  
Now does the *tua* pervade, the *tua* of the higher priest ;  
Now does the *tua* prevail, the *tua* of emersion  
To the world of being, to the world of light.”

Also the following :—

“ Ka mahia ki nga mahi nunui  
Kia tuputupu nunui koe  
Pu matai i uta ra  
Kia tuputupu nunui koe  
Hapuku i te moana ra  
Kia tuputupu nunui koe  
Tohora i te moana ra  
Kia tuputupu nunui koe.”  
“ By exalted powers (art thou) treated  
That thou mayest in stature grow ;  
Like unto the solid *matai* stump inland  
Mayest thou be bulky in growth,  
Like the *hapuku* fish in the sea  
Mayest thou be of prodigious growth,  
As the whale of the ocean depths  
Mayest thou grow in all greatness.”

Another invocation dedicating the child (male children only) to the service of Tu was that known as the *Tua o Tu* :—

“ Kia hapai patu koe  
Kia mau patu koe  
Kia karo patu koe  
Kia mau toa koe  
Kia tangaengae koe  
Kia wete (? whete) koe  
Kia ngawari koe  
Kia whiwhia ki te pehu o Tu  
Whiwhia, rawea  
Ka puta koe ki te whai ao  
Ki te ao marama.”

“ To uplift thy weapons,  
To carry thy arms,  
To parry fierce blows,  
To catch the bravest  
Be thou strong and able,  
To grimace in the war dance,  
To be lithe and quick  
And acquire the power of Tu  
Possess it ! Hold it !  
Come forth to the world of being  
To the world of light.”

The sign of *noho kahu* at the birth of a male child denotes that he will be a brave and able warrior.

Follows another *Tua mo te toa* or invocation to implant bravery and energy in the child :—

“ Tu ki tupua, Tu ki tawhito  
Tau e riri ai koe, ko runga, ko raro  
Tau e patu ai, e toa ai  
Ko te Rangi nui e tu nei  
Ko Papa e takoto nei  
Tua kai te rangi tuatahi  
Tua kai te rangi tuarua  
Mau ka toa,  
Kia toa.”

“ Rely on the powers below, the powers above,  
(For) thy strife shall be all above, all below,  
Those thou shalt kill and exercise thy courage (against)  
Are (the powers) of the great Heavens that stand above  
And the Earth that lies here below,  
Call on the first Heaven,  
Call on the second Heaven,  
When thou dost exercise thy warlike spirit  
Be brave indeed.”

It must be understood that these invocations here given are repeated over male children only, different ones being used for females as the above are for the purpose of endowing the child with bravery etc. in war. After this rite is performed the child is clear from *tapa* and may be shown to the people and nursed or carried by the women.

When a male child is old enough to prattle (*owhaowha*) it is again handed over to the priest that he may perform the *Tohi* ceremony over it. The priests, after sprinkling the child with water, repeat over it the *Tohi a Tu* or Baptism of Tu :—

“ Ka tohia koe tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake  
Owhaowha tama i te wai o Tu-tawake  
Kia riri tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake  
Kia niwha tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake.”  
&c., &c.

“ Baptised art thou child, with the water of Tu-tawake  
Prattles the child in the waters of Tu-tawake  
Strives the child with the waters of Tu-tawake  
Fierce is the child with the waters of Tu-tawake.”

This ceremony is for the purpose of endowing the child with health, strength, cleverness and courage, and to enable it to retain such qualities. For the child came into the world by way of the *whare āitua*† and until the day of his death will ever be surrounded with innumerable invisible dangers, for the *atua maori*, or demons swarm on the earth, in space and the waters under the earth. Hence the sacred rites of the *tohi*, *tu-ora*, *tua* and *kawa-ora* are performed, and the

\* A fine *Karakia tua* is given at p. 75 of *Nga Moteatea*.

† The female organ is so termed - ‘The house of misfortune.’

*mauri*, *ahurewa*, and *tuapa* (three species of talisman) are religiously attended to and guarded.

The following is on *oriori* or lullaby, as composed by Ruru of Tuhoe and sung to his child Hikurangi. It is also a *tohi*, as will be seen by the form of words used :—

“ E Hiku ! e moe nei  
 Kati ra ko te moe  
 Korikori tu mai, ka taka taurira e  
 He karanga pa mai kai Taumata  
 Ka pa ha he taua  
 Kai toro to ringa ki te patu kuare  
 Te whitikitia te tau o nga patu  
 Hai patu whakarawe ki te ranga māro  
 I te riri aupaki kai ou tuakana  
 Kai a Ti, kai a Rangiahua  
 Tenei to kiri kai te whakamirei  
 Tangaroa kiri uka  
 I tohia tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake  
 Ka riri tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake  
 Karo patu tama ki te wai o Tu-tawake  
 Kai patia koutou e te whana turu  
 Kai ou papa e tau tonu mai ra . . e  
 Te heuea te umu ki Te Kupenga  
 Kati ano ra Te Tara-ki-tauaki  
 Ka whati i te hau . . e  
 Mo taku ika hui rua ki roto o Waihua . . e  
 Hai waiu mou, E Hiku ! ”

“ O Hiku ! that sleepest there,  
 Cease then thy sleep ;  
 Be alert, arise, the sun is high,  
 A shout is heard on Taumata ;  
 Should it be a war party,  
 Stretch not forth thy hand to strike in haste,  
 (Nor forget) to fasten the wristcord of thy weapon—  
 A weapon for close fighting in the ranks  
 In the battle on the slopes with thy brothers,  
 With Ti, and with Rangiahua,  
 Behold thy disposition defiant,  
 Of Tangaroa the rough skinned,  
 The child was baptised with the waters of Tu-tawake  
 (He) strove with the waters of Tu-tawake  
 (He) defends himself through the waters of Tu-tawake.  
 Heed ye, lest ye be speared in the charge  
 As were your forefathers who still lie there  
 That opened up the oven (of war) at Te Kupenga.  
 Sufficient is it that Te Tara-ki-tauaki  
 Fled before the breeze of war,  
 When my second one was slain in the vale of Waihua.  
 Such is mother's milk for thee, O Hiku ! ”

Some interesting items in regard to the *tua* and *tohi* rites may be found in Taylor's “ Te Ika a Maui.”\*

\* Contains much information, but a dangerous work for beginners to read.

Another incident of the *tohi* was the causing of the person to swallow a small stone. This was to 'harden' the child (*hai whaka uka i te tumaiti*), that weapons might not pierce him and to render him strenuous in battle. The invocation repeated in order to attain these desirable qualities contains the words—" *Tangaroa kiri uka, Tangaroa kiri kohatu*,"—Tangaroa hard skin, Tangaroa stony skin.

The *tohi* was performed over adults both before and after battle. When performed after a fight it caused a warrior to retain his courage, vigour and warlike knowledge and also took the *tapu* off him, for all who fight are under the sway of the gods of war and therefore *tapu*.

When Tawhaki, of Kawerau, visited his relative, Te Rangi-monoa at Karioi *pa*, he was deeply *tapu*. Therefore before his host could approach or sit by him, he was compelled to conduct Tawhaki to the sacred stream of the village and there perform over him the *tohi* rite in order to lift the *tapu*, that is the intensity of the *tapu*. Tawhaki being the first born of a high family was of course always *tapu*. He could not be entirely dispossessed of *tapu*. When Te Mahuhuki came to Puketapu *pa* at Te Teko, to engage Te Rama-apakura in single combat both these warriors had the *tohi* ceremony performed over them. This was to strengthen them for the fray and render their weapons effective.

When Rangi-te-ao-rere visited his father Rangi-whakaeke-hau at Rotorua, the latter performed the *tohi* over him, after which they sallied forth and attacked the multitude of Kawa-arero, defeating them and taking the island of Mokoia. This *tohi* was as follows:—

"Ko te tupe o Tu, ko te tupe o Rongo  
Heuea to kanohi kia hihiri, kia mataara  
Uruuru o Tangaroa  
Whatiia nga tai o Kupe  
Tupe ai nuku tupe ai rangi  
Kohakoha te ao rere  
Te po kimibia, E tama!  
Ki a Tu-ka-nihi, ki a Tu-ka-hara  
Orooroa mai nga tai  
Ka pupuke ki runga o Mokoia  
Kia tu koe, kia toa koe."

"This is the sacred charm of Tu, the charm of Rongo,  
Open wide thine eyes, be alert, on the look out,  
For the sacred offering of Tangaroa,  
As the seas of Kupe break.  
Be charmed the Earth, be charmed the Heavens.  
Diminished is the flying cloud.  
The "searching" of old, O son!  
To Tu-ka-nihi, to Tu-ka-hara,  
Swashing are the tides (of war)  
Heaping up on Mokoia island.  
Arise thee! Be thou brave!"

When the renowned warrior Kahuki visited Rua-pururu at Kapo-whetu *pa* near the present township of Tane-atua, he found the old man attending to his *kumara* plants. Being *tapu* Kahuki did not approach him but remained at the bank of the Tauranga river. The old man, as he came to throw an armful of weeds over the bank, saw him and bade him follow him that the strength of his *tapu* might be weakened by the *tohi*. This *tohi* begins as follows:—

“Ko te tohi nuku, ko te tohi rangi, ko te tohi riri  
Whakamana ana kia mau te kaha.” &c.

“’Tis the baptism of Earth, of Heaven, of War;  
Empower (this man) with all strength.”

When the northern war party under Te Rau-paraha, and others were about to assault a *pa* (fort) near Wellington, the warriors separated into different *hapu* (sub-tribe) groups and arranged themselves in ranks by the river side, the ranks being away from each other. The priest of each party then provided himself with a green branch of the *karamu* shrub and, dipping it into the water, struck each warrior with the same on the right shoulder, reciting as he did so:—

“Tupe hinga, tupe takoto, tupe ara  
Ka tau te ruhi, ka tau te ngenge  
Te hamehameha o Tu  
E Tu, whakaarahia!”

“The charm falls, it lies, it arises,  
Exhaustion pervades, weariness prevails,  
(Through) the awesomeness of Tu.  
O Tu! arouse (these men).”

This is known as a *tohi taua* or *wai taua*, of which more anon. When struck or tapped with the branch, should a leaf fall from the same, or a branchlet be broken, the man under operation will be slain in the coming fray.

The reason of the warriors being struck on the right shoulder and never on the left, is that the right shoulder of man is the *tama-tane*, wherein is represented his *mana* (prestige &c). It is the strength of the right shoulder that drives the weapon home.\* The left side of the body is known as the *taha-ruahine* or *tama-wahine*. In many rites and acts connected with witchcraft, sickness, marriage, &c., the left hand is invariably used. The left side is *noa*, void of *tapu*.

The *tohi* to implant bravery, strength and hardness in the child or young warrior, seems to have also been termed *tūā-kaha*.†

\* Hence a man or tribe famous for success in war is alluded to as *te pakihikiwi kaha*, the strong shouldered.

† Some interesting items re *tohi*, &c., will be found at pp. 181 and 185, *Jour. Pol. Soc.*, Vol. VIII.



The following is a *tua* repeated over a child in order to cause the same to grow up a brave and able warrior :—

“ Kia tuputupu nunui e koe  
 Kia tuputupu roroa e koe  
 Kia hokai e koe  
 Kia niwha e koe  
 Kia toto e koe  
 Kia hi te pewa, kia tikoro nga karu  
 Moe tu, moe rere, moe pepeke  
 Hopukia, kia mau ! ”

“ May thou grow large,  
 May thou grow tall,  
 May thou take great strides,  
 May thou be fierce,  
 May thou be long-winded,  
 May thou elevate the eye-brows,  
 May thou show the whites of the eyes,\*  
 Be able to sleep standing, flying, or doubled up.  
 Catch it ! Hold it !

And again : The child of woman is born. Then the word is heard, “ So-and-so has given birth to a child, it is a *tama-a-roa* (male child).” Choice goods are collected for the feast to be held at the *tūātanga*. The priest performs the ceremony and recites the *tūā* :—

“ Tua kai te whiwhia, kai te rawea  
 Kia tuputupu nunui e koe  
 Kia tuputupu roroa e koe  
 Kia hokai e koe, kia niwha e koe  
 Kia wehi e koe, kia whete e koe  
 Kia toa e koe, kia tupu nui e koe  
 Kia toa e koe, kia tere  
 Kia horo ki te hopu ika i te ati  
 Tamarahi kei a koe te ika i te ati  
 Ka mama ki uta, ka mama ki tai  
 Ka mama ki nga tupuna  
 Ka mama ki nga ruahine  
 Ka mama ki nga taketake  
 Ka mama ki te hau e tu nei  
 Kia uaua, kia toa, kia maia  
 Kia whete, kia hokai, kia tikoro  
 Kia whete ki nga koromatua  
 Oi whiwhia ! Oi rawea ! ”

“ The *tua* is possessed, is held,  
 May thou grow large in stature,  
 May thou grow tall,  
 May thou take great strides, and be fierce,  
 May thou be fearsome and strive fiercely,  
 May thou be brave and thy fame grow,  
 May thou be brave and fleet,

\* In the war dance.

May thou be quick to catch the first fish (in battle)  
And boast that thou hast the first one slain.  
Invoke (the powers) inland, (the powers) at sea,  
Invoke the ancestors,  
Invoke the female priests,  
Invoke the (spirit of the) ancestral homes,  
Invoke the wind (or spirit) that is present,  
Be strenuous, be brave, be courageous,  
Stare fiercely, stride with high action,  
showing the white of the eyes,  
Stare wildly, that those of old may see thee.  
So be it; possessed! So be it; holden!"

Such is the *tua* of the child. Hence the bravery of the Maori warrior, as seen throughout the (Maori) world.

There were various methods of preserving the bravery and prestige of a people in the days of yore. The Maori is nothing if not metaphysical. He had therefore evolved the idea that the semblance or personality of desirable human qualities, such as bravery, prestige, &c., may be taken and kept in some sacred or hidden spot and there protected by means of certain rites and invocations, as entirely apart from the substance, so to speak, of such qualities, which are still retained and exercised by the living person, the owner thereof. Some material token of the semblance (*ahua*) of such qualities would be deposited on the *whata puaroa*, a most sacred place (*tūrūmatanga*), these words being repeated by the priest :—

“Ka iri ki te whata o Hotu-nuku,  
O Hotu-rangi,  
Whiwhia mai, rawea mai,  
Tena ka mau.”

“Suspended on the stage of Hotu-nuku,  
Of Hotu-rangi,  
Be possessed, be held,  
Now it is firm.”

By this means the possessor of these qualities was insured against their loss, and, moreover, could not be assailed by Tu-mata-rehurehu, by the *kahupo* or *pahunu*, that is to say, by terror, cowardice or anxiety when in battle. These terms will be explained later on.\*

Before proceeding to describe the signs, &c., portending calamity in war, &c., something should be said of the education of a young lad in order to fit him for the warrior's duties, and we hope that the author will supplement his paper by furnishing an account of what this consisted in so far as the Tuhoe tribes are concerned. The boys were most carefully trained by their fathers or grandfathers in "*nga mahi a Tu-mata-uenga*," or, the art of the war-god Tu; to wield the several weapons, as the *tao* or spear, the *huata*—long spear, *taiaha*—halbert, the *tewhatewha*, *hoeroa*, *mere*, *kotaha*, and other arms. They were encouraged in all exercises calculated to give them courage, agility and strength, and to become cruel and hard-hearted, all tending to make them accomplished warriors according to Maori ideas of chivalry. Besides these matters, they were instructed in various *karakias* or incantations relating to war, and spells to overcome their enemies; and others—*ki-tao*, &c.—to give a certainty to their weapons, &c.—ED,

## SIGNS, OMENS, PROPHECY AND DIVINATION.

When a war party starts out in quest of blood vengeance, the first person met by them is slain, although possibly a relative. To spare that person would be an evil omen for the party. Such a crossing of the "nose" or "bows" of a war party (*ihu taua*) is termed a *kotipu* or, as we have seen, a *mārōrō kokoti ihu waka* (flying fish crossing a canoe's bow).

The *miti aitua* is an intense dryness of the throat, and mouth, the flow of saliva ceases. This sometimes assails a person in the hour of battle and is an evil omen. Rangaika of Ruapani was so affected in the desperate fight at Te Ana-o-Tawa on the shores of Waikare-moana. He cried—"This is the *miti aitua*. It is defeat." And it was so.

When the news of an approaching enemy is received, it is a bad omen for us should we become excited and lose our presence of mind. This is obvious.

To neglect the rite of *whangai hau* is a bad omen.

When in battle it is wrong for a young or inferior chief to thrust himself before a superior, or attempt to assume the command. It is an *aitua* (evil omen) for the presumptuous one. Ere long things will happen. When Hika-oro-roa, of Ngai-Tahu and that ilk, was leading an assault on the Matakai-kai-poinga *pa* at the Hutt, near Wellington in the days of the long ago, a young warrior named Turuki forced himself before the old veteran. This was a great affront which Hika resented with biting sarcasm. But Turuki was not submitting quietly and persuaded Tu-te-kawa to attack the opposite side of the fort which soon fell to his warriors.

It is an evil omen for a young warrior on his first war trail to neglect to present the body, or weapon, or cloak of the first man slain by him, to the *tohunga* or priest of his party, who will perform the *tohu* over the blooded youth.

Should the *aria* (semblance or material form, or form of incarnation) of the war god Maru be seen by a war party in front of them it is a bad sign and they will do well to return home. But if Maru appears in the sky behind them, that is a *marie* or good omen; they will succeed.

It is an evil omen for a war party to eat standing. Even if on the march and anxious to get forward, they must lay their weapons aside and seat themselves.\*

The *parangeki* is another evil omen. It fortells disaster and probably on the battlefield. This term is applied to strange sounds heard in the forest at night, sounds as of women and children talking

\* In war time, to pass cooked food over a weapon has the effect of rendering the weapon practically useless—it is polluted—*Ka tamaoatia te mata o te rakau*. For that weapon has been made *tapu*.

and laughing, or singing. It is distinct from the singing of the *heketero* or fairies.

To yawn, in regard to war, is a sign of cowardice. When a war party stays to cook its food, it is essential that, before moving on, they divide or scatter the leaves which form the *koronae* used to line the oven. Should they neglect to do so there will be trouble ahead.

When the wind known as a *hau mihi kainga* blows, it is an evil omen, a *kaupapa tahuri* or *hurihanga kaupapa*, disaster or reverse is impending. The *hau mihi kainga* (home greeting wind, wind which greets or condoles with the people) is a strong breeze, but does not last long. This breeze is from the south, to people of this district. When it rises, then it is known that the people of the place will shortly sustain a reverse. The wind is condoling with, or greeting, those who will soon be no more.

If a *ruru* (owl) is heard to cry at, or near, the junction of two tracks, it is a sign that a war party is on the move. When such an omen was made known, the people would probably leave their houses and pass the night in the forest.

A collection of evil omens &c. pertaining to war will be found at page 120, Vol. VII of this Journal.

Among the Tuhoe tribes, when a war party is on foot, should a lizard be seen in the earth ovens, that is an evil omen for the warriors. For the lizard is the *aria* or form of incarnation of the war gods (*atua*, demons) Te Hūkitā and Te Rehu-o-Tainui.

After a battle is won, it is a *whakaupa* and an evil omen to stay or camp upon the battle ground. This word seems to mean 'to prolong.' In battle, should a chief see his men falling fast around him, he will cry:—*Me haere i te manu kawhaki, kawa e whakaupa ki te riri; kia whai morehu.*"—that is—Do not prolong the fighting, let us employ stratagem that we may save ourselves. When Ngati-Rua and others under Te Rua, Hine-auhi and Ripaki attacked O-te-nuku pa (fort) at Rua-toki, they succeeded in taking it. As the survivors fled Ripaki cried to the warriors—"E hika ma! Kakariki i tunua, Kakariki otaina"\*—meaning that they were not to *whakaupa* or prolong their stay, but to eat their food at once, although not yet thoroughly cooked, and depart, lest they be surprised by a force of the enemy.

When called upon to rise and fight, should all the warriors spring up as one man, that is termed a *kura takahi puni* and is a good omen. But should some lag behind or do not spring up with alacrity, that is a *hawaiki-pepeke* and a bad omen, disaster lies ahead. The listlessness which causes a warrior to commit the *hawaiki pepeke* is known as

\* i.e. Do not wait for food to be thoroughly cooked. The *Kakariki* bird is as good half raw as when thoroughly cooked.



*hauhan-aitu* and is akin to, but not the same as, the *pahunu*. It has probably been caused by the transgression of one of the numerous laws of *tapu*, as we shall see anon.

LAMENT FOR TE PUKENUI, OF TUHOE. (part only)

“E koro ! E Puke  
 Kati ra te moe  
 Maranga mai ki runga  
 Mau ki to patu-e  
 Korero i ou tohu  
 Te kura-takahi-puni-e  
 Te takatu moana ia  
 Te tuku tai whakarere  
 Waiho nei i a Tai-whakaea  
 Ki a te hawaiki-pepeke-e  
 Ka hinga, ka takoto kai te whenua-e.”  
 &c., &c.

“O Sir ! O Puke !  
 Cease then thy death sleep,  
 Arise and stand forth,  
 Firmly hold thy weapon,  
 And tell of thy knowledge,  
 Of the good omens of war,  
 Of propitious signs,  
 Of fortune in war,  
 It was with Tai-whakaea  
 That ill omens preceded,  
 So he fell, prone to the earth.”  
 &c., &c.

A species of divination was performed by means of the *aria* of the war god Te Hūkitā, which *aria* is a lizard. In going to war, if a priest who is the medium of this *atua* be present, he will call upon the dread being to appear, which he soon does in lizard form. The priest hands the reptile to one of the warriors who passes it on to his neighbour, and so on until all the fighting men have handled it. Should, however, the lizard crawl of its own accord on to another man's hand—that is an *aitua* (omen of evil) and that man will not accompany the party, for he knows full well that death awaits him in the fray. Nor will the other members of his *hapu* or sub-tribe lift the trail of Tu the Fierce-Eyed, inasmuch as the warning applies to them all.

The tribes in the vicinity of Roto-iti were most careful to treat with respect the dread monster Kataore which lived upon the Matua-whaura range. Should that *taniwha* chatter as a war party passed it that was a serious omen for the warriors. This was the demon that Rangi-te-ao-rere's mother told that young chief to be sure and supply with food as he and his party marched to Rotorua.

To hear the *pu-wawau* is an omen of grave significance. The *pu-wawau* is the sound of running waters, the murmuring sound which

seems like distant voices. When you have heard that it is high time to go home and put your *pa* in order, and re-lash the palisades—for red war is upon you.

The tribal banshee of Ngati-Whare of Te Whaiti is known as Hine-ruarangi, and appears in the form of a *kawau* or cormorant of great size, which dwells within the Cañon of Toi. When this bird-demon is seen hovering above a village—then men know that a chief will shortly die or the tribe will meet with disaster on the battlefield. When this tribe rose to attack the Arawa of the Boiling Water Country\* that ill-omened bird was seen to soar above the column as it marched forth from the Vale of Toi. But the sons of Whare-pakau recked not of evil omens, so fell they at Te Ariki, where their bravest lay in death. In like manner was the tribal banshee's warning despised when Tuhoe and Ngati-Whare raided north to the Waikato country, where they were defeated at Okiri, and Tuhoe lost the chiefs Taitua and Te Whare-kotua. This was an aggravated case, inasmuch as, not only did the warriors despise the warning of Hine-ruarangi, but one godless ruffian actually tried to slay the sacred daughter of Toi, the Wood Eater. No wonder that they fell!

In taking his walks abroad, should the old-time Maori encounter a lizard in the trail, he knows that it has been sent by an enemy to work him grievous harm; it is an act of witchcraft which he immediately proceeds to *ripa* or avert by means of the *ahi whakaene* and its attendant rites and invocations. But if a man encounters two or three lizards in one day it is then borne in upon him that there is no ordinary trouble for himself alone, but that a *parekura* is impending, that is to say, a wholesale disaster to himself and friends, and most probably means that a fight looms in the immediate future. For the old-time Maori ever looked to the battle-field for his death-bed.

A landslip is looked upon as presaging a coming evil in the mountainous region of Tuhoe-land. When the huge slip known as Te Horo-roa occurred, four generations ago, on Maunga-pohatu, Ngati-Huri of that lone *kainy* knew that there was trouble ahead. And there was. For the tribes of the Rising Sun rose at the sign of the burned robe and invaded the realm of the sacred mountain, and to them fell the Papakai *pa* (fort).

The conducting priest of a war party would observe certain phases of the moon for the starting of the expedition. The moon was also carefully observed when an attack was about to be delivered. If the crescent moon enclosed a star—the moon represented the *pa* (fort) of the enemy, while the star was the attacking party. If the star seems to pass behind the moon and reappear on the other side, that is a good

\* Rotorua district.—ED.

omen for the attacking party—the *pa* will fall. “We saw this omen just before we fought the *Pakeha* at Orakau. As we were an invading war party we were delighted at the sight. But we heedlessly built a *pa* (stockade) and thus turned the omen against ourselves. We then represented the moon. The *pa* fell, but it was our own *pa*, and we fell with it.”

If a star is seen near the upper horn of the moon it is a *pa taea* (star fort taken), but it will require a large party to take it. Therefore should the attacking party be a small one, it will probably return and await a more favourable omen, or send for reinforcements.

#### RUA KOHA (KOHA = SUMMER LIGHTNING).

We will now speak of the *rua koha*, or, as it is sometimes termed *rua kanapu*. This was an important item in Maori-land in the old fighting days. It is the play of summer lightning as seen upon mountain peaks and high ranges, and also upon the horizon. I suspect some of the *rua koha* seen seaward were identical with the *Aurora australis*.

Tauhara mountain at Taupo is a *rua koha*, as also is Mata-whaura. Tuwatawata is the *rua koha* of the tribes of the Whaiti, and Te Peka-a-Tu-mariu that of Rua-tahuna. Tawhiuau is the *rua koha* of Ngati-Manawa. It depends upon the direction of the flashes as to what the *koha* portends. If the flashes are vertical the evil omen is for the tribe of the district, but if flashing in the direction of other tribes it is a good omen for the people of the land and a bad one for those distant tribes.

Te Aka-puahou is the *rua koha* of Ngati-Huri of Maunga-pohatu. It gave warning for the disasters of Okiri and Whetekai, where the tribe was defeated. The *rua koha* of Ngati-Awa are Te Awa-nui and Te Awa-iti. Te Awa-nui is a term applied to that portion of the waters of the Bay of Plenty between Tikirau and Nga Kuri-a-Whare. Te Awa-iti is a name applied to the same sea between Mou-Tohoro and Kōhi point, at Whakatane. If the flashes are seen out at sea across the Awa-nui, that is an evil omen for the coast tribes. Death has marked a chief for its own, or defeat on the battle-field is at hand. The place where the *koha* flashes up is termed the *rua* or *kotore*.

Tupai is a god (demon) of lightning and thunder, and was wont to amuse himself by slaying any witless Maori who was guilty of transgressing the laws of *tapu*.

When the *koha* was seen in olden times, the *koeko* (elders) would ask, “Where is the *kotua*?” or, “Where did it finish?” and from the direction of the flashes and their place of origin would know as to whether good or evil days lay before the tribe. The *rua koha* was looked upon by the Maori as being something supernatural; it was

warning from the gods. For lightning, thunder, wind, rain, &c., are all personified by the Maori; they, together with the elements fire and water are all the offspring or descendants of Rangi, the Sky Father, and Papa, the Earth Mother.

#### IMU-RANGI OR PAPA-KURA.

This is a term applied to a red glow seen on the horizon or in the distance. If it is in a curved form, extending upwards against the sky-line, it is a sign of bad weather to come; if extending straight up on the sky-line, it is a sign of wind. But should the red gleam appear low down, spread on the earth, that is an *aitua* or evil omen of the gravest import. It is a *kaupapa tuhuri*, a sign of reverse or disaster. An interesting and explanatory use of the word *kaupapa* will be found at p. 170 of J. White's Lectures, bound up with Gudgeon's "History and Traditions of the Maoris." The *papakura* is often referred to as an *atua* (*atua wherowhero*, reddish or gleaming god) or demon, and is viewed as something supernatural by the superstitious Maori. It is dreaded as being the token of *hauaitu*, a listless, nerveless state of mind, which will assail the warriors and render them an easy prey to an hostile force. As the two words *hau* and *aitu* imply, the *hauaitu* is somewhat akin to *pahunu* and *pawera*.

In order to divert the above omen, the priest or wise man of a village will repeat the following:—

"Whakataha ra koe e te anewa o te rangi e tu nei  
Kei whara koe i te mamaru o te rangi e tu nei  
He tupua, he tawhito to atua kei taku ure (e patu ana)  
Na te tapu ihi, na te tapu mana  
Takato ki raro ki to kauwhau ariki  
He aio tau e patu ai."

"Avert thee, the paralysing powers of Heaven,  
Lest thou be hurt by the arch of Heaven above,  
The lower powers, the upper powers  
Hast thy god that feeds on me.  
By the subtle *tapu*, by the powerful *tapu*  
Possessed by thy ancestral line,  
In a calm shalt thou strike."

To encounter a *haweau* lizard is a *kaupapa tuhuri*.

#### A SONG OF TE IKA-POTO (FOR HIS WIFE).

"E pai ana, E hoa ma!  
E hara tuakiri ka pa ianei  
Ko te ruru i wetekia  
E tau aku rongo te kawea te pakia  
Nga roro whare koe o te tohe tuarau... e  
Kai hua mai koe naku te whakinga nei  
Na oku tohu ki te whakamohio  
Me aha te ngakau pakoko tawhito  
A Te Riaki... e



Nga rakau tango mua a Manaia  
 He inoi iara naku ki nga oha tupapaku . . . e  
 Kai whakarerea, kai kaupapa tahuri  
 Kai takoto noa te paki ki tua . . . e."

"It is well, O my friends!  
 'Twas not by wounds, had it been  
 That the bonds were severed,  
 My fame would have rested, carried  
 To the porches of the contentious.  
 Think thee not that I confessed;  
 'Twas by token it was known,  
 How could this heart (cleave to)  
 The childless ancient one of Te Riaki  
 (Like) the far-famed weapons of Manaia of old  
 My prayer is of the last words of the dead,  
 Lest they be set aside, and disaster fall (*kaupapa-tahuri*)  
 And useless be, in the peace hereafter."

#### TAKIRI AND TAMAKI.

Omens known as *takiri* are derived from convulsive starts, as of the arms of a sleeping person. If the right arm jerks in this manner it is a good omen. In war it is a sign of victory in battle. If the left arm, it is a sign of an approaching war party, or of defeat—generally ill luck. Another method of translating the *takiri* is as follows: If the arm jerks outwards, that is a *kohera*\* and an evil omen, but if it jerks inward, that is a *ruru*† and of good import, it shelters the body of the sleeper. These singular beliefs appear to hinge upon the common belief that the right side of man (the *tama-tane*) represents health, strength, energy, &c., while the left side (the *tama-wahine*) represents just the opposite qualities.

The *tamaki* signs are very similar. If, during sleep, the left hand clutches (*kamu* or *kapo*), that is an evil omen. If the right hand it is a good omen. The *ihu tamaki* (or *ihu tangi*) or twitching nose applies to waking hours. It means the peculiar twitching sensation sometimes felt in the nose, and is an evil omen. The term *tamaki* means the twitching of nerves. A *tamaki* felt in the buttocks is termed *kai koromaki*.

"Engari taku taha e kai koromaki ana."—OLD SONG.

The *hukihuki* is another *tamaki*—it is felt in the arms and shoulders. To feel it on the left side is an evil omen, but on the right side it is a good omen.‡

The most ridiculous things were done when on the war trail in order to read the omens and see what fate held in store. When that

\* *Kohera*, open.

† *Ruru*, sheltered or closed.

‡ The *tamaki*, or twitching of the nose is likewise a sign of evil to he who feels it, as portending that he is being bewitched.—ED.

famous warrior, Major Ropata Wahawaha, of the fighting Ngati-Porou was chasing Te Kōti and his ruffians over the ghastly country at the head of the Tauranga river, he was missed one day by his followers, who started in search of him, and eventually found him lying down on the top of a range, calmly waiting for a *takiri*, in order that he might know what fate lay before his party in the coming struggle.\*

In addition to the general *tohu* or signs which showed the hazard of war and the divination rites and *matakite* (prophecy) of the priests, each warrior would be liable to have his actions determined by his own private *atua* and signs. During the war in New Zealand between the natives and Europeans, a noted *toa* (warrior) of the native contingent went to his European officer just before a fight took place and begged to be allowed to drop out of his usual place in front of the force, saying that he had dreamed of being so placed in the fight, and was there shot and killed, adding: "I felt myself die." His request was conceded and he dropped to the rear, his place being taken by an European who in the subsequent fight was shot dead, the bullet striking him at the precise spot where the native had felt it enter his own body during his dream. His lucky dream thus saved the native's life, and such a strange coincidence would naturally tend to strengthen his belief in his special *atua*, who sent him timely warning.†

In the state of constant anxiety and suspicion in which the Maori lived in old fighting days, it behoved the priests and elders to be constantly on the watch for any adverse omens, signs of approaching war parties, &c. The stars received much attention, and various auguries were drawn from their relative position, &c., and more especially when stars were seen near the moon. If a star were seen near the *mata o Hoturoa* (the hollow of the moon\*) it would be carefully watched, and as it changed its position so would the omens be drawn. If the star does not come near the moon it denotes that the attacking force will be wary and cautious and will not relish close fighting. "Albeit the evil may be afar off, yet will the sign of its approach be made clear. The *atua* will be seen flashing (*kohio*) like a star in the heavens." If the *atua* known as Te Iho-o-te-rangi, whose visible form is merely a lock of hair (*taio makawe*), be urged by its priestly medium to disclose the issue of a coming fight, that useful demon will take to flight through space, and will be plainly seen by the medium so flitting. If the *atua* returns, it is an evil omen, the war party will remain quietly in camp,—it would be suicidal to disregard the warning of the gods. If, however, the *atua* does not return, that is a sign of good fortune, and the fighting men gird themselves for the fray.

\* See Colonel Porter's "Story of Ropata."

† Gudgeon's "War in New Zealand."

‡ Such is the meaning given, but the word *mata* seems rather to apply to the horn of the moon.—Ed.

While on the war path it is an evil omen if, when a steam oven is opened the contents are found to be not properly cooked. But for a fighting man when going to war to have a good appetite is an excellent sign (*kaore he kopī o roto i a ia*,—i.e., he has no timidity.)

The *ruru* (owl, morepork) was credited with sagacity, inasmuch as they are said to have warned communities of the approach of an enemy by crying, "*Koukou! Whero! Whero! Whero!*" If an unfortified village, the people would desert the same for the night and take to the bush.

The Maori is a most observant being, for by that means only could he retain life in the troublous past. When Ngati-Whare, under Te Raiti and others, attacked Rua-tahuna by a sudden raid on an isolated village, they returned by way of the Waihui stream, camping at Heipipi for the night. Tuhoe, however, were lifting the trail at a run and approached the Ngati-Whare camp under cover of night. Te Raiti heard a *kaka* parrot cry out in alarm (*ka tarakehu te kaka*), and judged that a prowling enemy had startled it. He said, "*Te kaka o Te Raiti*,"\* and, rousing his men, they fled through the forest in the direction of their home. Now, although the *kaka* may often be heard to cry out at night, yet it has a different cry when startled, and Te Raiti, as an old bushman, knew this full well. The forest tribe of Tuhoe-land have three distinct terms which are applied to the cry of the *kaka*. One denotes the ordinary scream of the bird, another the quarrelling sound made by a number of birds when together, a third the cry emitted by the bird when startled. About 250 years ago a war party of Te Arawa invaded Te Whaiti and captured one Whare-paka as he was engaged in snaring birds at Pukerehunga, near Weka-nu. Whare was just leaving the place, as he suspected the presence of an enemy, noticing that the birds were unusually shy in responding to the wiles of his *pepe* or call-leaf.

Sneezing is an evil omen to the Maori. If a man sneezes while he is eating, then ere long he will be slain by an enemy, and his flesh cooked and eaten with the same kind of food that he was eating when he sneezed.

Various signs at the birth of a child told the natives whether he would grow up to be a famous warrior. The *noho kahu*† was one. Also if a child were born with teeth, that child would develop into a noted *toa* (warrior). When old Tamarau's grandchild, descendant of the famous Ngahuru, was born with teeth developed some few years ago, that old warlock seemed much cast down by the reflection that his grandchild would be prevented by odious *Pakeha* laws from raiding the defenceless settlements of the land of Awa.

\* i.e., "The parrot of Te Raiti."

† i.e., still enveloped by membrane when born.

When Pukeko, chief of Ngati-Rakei of Ohaua-te-rangi, dreamed that Te Onewa-tahi visited him and when saluting him bit his nose, he knew that this was a serious omen, and when shortly after he heard that Te Onewa was on his way to pay him a friendly visit, he was forewarned and forearmed, for he fell upon the visitors and slew many thereof with the greatest satisfaction.

The thought came to Kahuki that the pleasant episode of Te Karihi-potae was not yet equalised. He gave the word for a canoe to be hewed out. When finished it was launched, and in the process a grating sound was heard, as the canoe was dragged over the shingle. Kahuki at once knew that his enemy would fall to him.

When Tu-tamure attacked the famed Maunga-a-kahia *pa* (fortified village) he ordered his brother Tama-taipu-noa to fill a calabash with water and throw it into the fort. The vessel, however, struck the top of the palisades and fell outside the fort, where it was broken. Tu said, "The *pa* will not be taken by assault." Had the vessel fallen inside and broken there, that would have been a token of the fall by assault.

Another kind of *tohu* is a material sign of conquest or ownership. When Ngati-Awa, under Tikitū and Ngarara, joined Tuhoe in an attack on Ngati-Manawa at Okarea, the *pa* fell to them, and the sons of Manawa fled afar off. Ngarara advised Tikitū to seize the adjacent lands, noted for the great numbers of birds in the forests thereof. Tikitū thereupon left his core of obsidian in a hollow tree at that place as a *tohu*, having first struck off a flake with which to cut up the body of Tahawai of Manawa.

A favourite mode of ascertaining what fate held in store was by that kind of war dance known as the *turanga-a-tohu* (*waewae turanga-a-tohu*). This is the dance performed at a *pakuwha*\* as an exhibition or in order to find out whether any evil omen awaits a party. It is also performed on other occasions. The men are formed into two columns and are challenged by the *wero* in the usual manner, before they form up in the *kawau māro*, of which more anon. The following is a specimen of the *peruperu* sung to accompany the dance :—

"Haere atu ki Manga-reporepo raia . . . ha !  
 Ka haere te tiare raia . . . ha !  
 E hiwa . . . ha !  
 He aha kai roto atu ?  
 Ā-he nihinihi !  
 He aha kai waho mai ?  
 Ā-he kiri tapa !  
 He aha kai o tapa ?  
 Ā-he kea . . . ā."

\* A betrothal.—Ed.



The *niu* method of divination was one of the most widespread throughout these isles. It was also an exceedingly simple process, consisting of casting pieces of fern stalk and noting the way in which they fell. From the position of the sticks auguries were drawn as to the fate of a war party about to lift the trail of Tu. If the sticks lay together (*karapiti*), it was an evil omen and the picnic would be postponed. If they fell apart the omen was propitious, and the dogs of war slipped gratefully out on the trail. The *niu* was performed by the *tohunga*, or priest, who as he cast a stick would say, "*Mehemea ka puta a mea ki mua, whakaaturia mia.*"\* This was when a stick was supposed to represent a chief of the enemy. My notes concerning the *niu* are of the slimmest nature, and I will therefore refer readers to the excellent description given in White's Lectures, before quoted.

Te Pipi-o-te-rangi, a tribal *atua* of Ngati-Hau or Whanga-nui tribe, was much esteemed by these people. The *aria* or visible form of Te Pipi is some form of light or electrical disturbance seen against the sky-line. If gleaming steadily it was a bad omen for the tribe, but if it flashed in the sky, that was a good omen.

Te Purewa, a famous warrior of Tuhoe, was with Te Arawa at the fight of Mataipuku. He consulted his *atua*, one Peketahi by name, and whose *aria* (form of incarnation) was a lizard. The answer was unfavourable, and Te Purewa warned the Arawa against leaving the shelter of the redoubt. Te Arawa paid no attention to the warning and sallied forth to fight outside, where they were signally defeated.

Another oracle that was all powerful in the days of yore was Tipoki-o-rangi. This was a gourd which was the abode or medium of a potent *atua*. It was used in the ceremony of *oho rangi*, when the guardian *tohunga* (priest, &c.) would, through his gods, cause the thunder known as Whaitiri-pakapaka to sound, as a means of giving *mana* (power) to his rites of various kinds. This *waka atua* (receptacle or medium of *atua*) is said to be concealed in a cave at Matahina, near Mount Edgecumbe. When uncovered, the thunder will begin to roll at once. The Maori has names for the different sounding thunders as Ku, Pueaea, Rautupu, Tupai, Whaitiri-pakapaka, &c.

Another method of divination was by fire. When the Arawa column were leaving Rua-tahuna, after the peace making in connection with their defeat at Puke-kai-kāhu, their priest, Hape, lit a sacred fire just before starting. As the fire burned, the smoke did not rise straight up, but rolled down across the trail by which the Arawa were about to depart. Hape said, "*Ko te riri kei mua i a tatou*"—War lies before us.—And it was so. For, shortly after they left, Ngati-Huri o

\* i.e., If so-and-so is going to win, make it clear to me.

Maunga-pohatu marched in with the intention of attacking the Arawa. Although warned by Tuhoe not to persist, as peace had been made, the sons of Huri-papa followed the retreating Arawa and were defeated by the latter at Te Whatu-o-Mawake, the fight being known to the Arawa as Tieke-hoaia.

In some cases, more especially when in desperate straits, a human sacrifice was made in order to ascertain the fate of a garrison, &c. Men have been known to slay their own sons for this purpose. The heart of the victim would be offered to the gods.

Of the innumerable evils and methods of divination we will select one more as an illustration. This one is known as the *raurau*, and was much used by the Mātātua tribes of the Bay of Plenty.

In the early morning, before anyone partook of food, the priestly seer (*matatuhi*) would prepare to perform this augural ceremony. If the purpose were to divine the fortune of a proposed war expedition, he would proceed to fashion a small mound of earth for each *hapu* (sub-tribe) of the tribe it was proposed to attack, each mound being known by the name of such *hapu*. He would then stick in each mound a small branch of the *karamuramu* shrub, with the leaves on. The branchlets so placed were termed *hau*. Each *hau* represented the prestige, courage, power, endurance, &c., of the sub-tribe it was named for. The *tohunga* (priest) then takes a *karamuramu* stick, a piece of a branch, for each mound, and lays one on the ground a short distance from each mound and pointing towards the *hau* thereof, measuring the distance between the stick and the *hau* in each case. He will also make a similar mound (or mounds) to represent his own people, and insert a similar *hau* in each. Now, the sticks laid on the ground represent the attacking party, and the priest then proceeds to recite an invocation in order to cause the sticks to advance, each on its adjacent mound, and attack the *hau* thereof. The priest's invocation, although apparently addressed to the sticks, is really rendered effective by the power of his *atua*. It is as under:—

“Ara to hoariri  
 Kia toa, kia kaha, kia uaua  
 Kia manawanui e koe.  
 Ara to hoariri, e tu mai ra  
 Tu ki tupua, tu ki tawhito  
 Mau ka toa  
 Kia toa e koe  
 Kia manawanui e koe  
 Mau e hopu te ika nui  
 Kumekumea, totoia  
 E tu hokai nuku,  
 E tu hokai rangi, hokai papa  
 Ki nga koromatua.”

"Behold thy enemy !  
 Be brave, be strong, be strenuous,  
 Be stout-hearted,  
 Behold thy enemy standing there,  
 Stand forth (aided by) the higher and lower powers,  
 If thou be brave,  
 Be brave indeed,  
 Be thou stout-hearted,  
 Thou shalt catch the 'first fish.'  
 Pull away ! haul away !  
 Stand striding over the land,  
 Stand striding the Heavens, the Earth—  
 To the ancients of old."

The sage then recites the *karakia* (invocation, incantation or spell) known as a *tuaimu* (generic term—*hoa*), which is intended to weaken the enemy, and thus enable his assailant to defeat him :—

"Kai te umu te ruhi  
 Kai te umu te ngenge  
 Tuku tonu, heke tonu  
 Ti ika ki te Po  
 He ika ka ripiripia  
 He ika ka toetoea  
 He ika ka haparangitia  
 Muimui te ngaro, totoro te iro  
 Mau ka mate mai  
 Kia u mai."

"By this rite shall be exhaustion,  
 By this rite shall be weariness,  
 Completely gone, descended  
 Is the victim to Hades,  
 The victim is ripped up,  
 The victim is torn in shreds,  
 The victim is disembowelled,  
 Gathered are the flies, crawling are the maggots,  
 And when thou diest  
 Die for ever."

Then the assembled people are bidden to look, and, behold ! the sticks are seen to move towards the *hau*, and the leaves of the *hau* are seen to fall to the ground, in response to the *karakia* of the priest. The number of leaves which fall from the different *hau* represent the men of that particular *hapu* who will fall in the coming fight.

Hamiora Pio, of the wandering children of Awa, speaks :—  
 "Maketu had fallen to Ngai-Te-rangi. Haupapa and Te Nga-huru fell in death. Te Puehu escaped. He came to my uncle, to Whata-te-akau, at Pakipaki-o-te-rangi (near Tarawera). He said, 'I have come to see how Te Arawa may be avenged.' The other replied, 'Leave it until the morning.' For, look you, the wise men of our people were yet with us at that time. The *marae* (plaza) was swept

clean. The priests and elders assembled to perform the *Raurau* rite. I was among them, though but a young man at that time (1836?) Seven mounds were formed for Te Arawa (seven *hapus* or clans were to attack Te Tumu, the *pa* of Ngai-Te-Rangi) and one for Ngai-Te-Rangi. The *hau* were inserted in the mounds. Then invocations were recited to the sticks lying on the ground. The clan names had been assigned to the *hau* and the sticks. The priests, as they repeated the invocations, bent their bodies so as to avoid looking upon the mounds and symbols. When we looked at the mounds we saw that fourteen leaves had fallen from the Arawa *hau*. But the *hau* of Ngai-Te-Rangi was stripped of leaves, one branchlet alone survived. The chief priest looked at the fallen leaves, and said, "*He mate whakautu roa.*"\*

Then Te Puehu returned to his tribe, and Te Arawa rose and marched on Te Tumu *pa*, where Ngai-Te-Rangi fell beneath the shining sun. Tupaea, Mutu and others were the surviving branchlet."

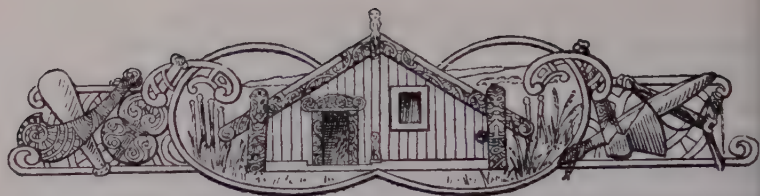
When a party is about to attack a fort the priest takes a stone and recites over it a *hoa* or charm. He then tries to throw the stone over the fort. Should the stone descend on the further side of the fort or within it the attacking party will take the place. But should the stone fall short of the defences, then the garrison will be successful—the fort will not fall. The attacking force must await a more favourable omen.

Other methods of divination, as also omens, &c., will be given under the headings of Waitaau, Matakite, &c. Even then, however, we pass under survey but a tithe of the ancient omens, superstitions, modes of augury, &c., that obtained in ancient Maori-land. The items here given, except some of the illustrative anecdotes, have been all collected by myself, mostly from the Tuhoe or Urewera tribe. Other interesting items under many of these headings will be found in the works of the late John White and others.

\* *i.e.*, It will be long before the defeat is avenged (?)

(To be continued.)





## THE "MAORI ANTIQUITIES ACT, 1901."

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LAST session of the New Zealand Parliament an Act was passed under the above title. Its object is the prevention of the exportation of genuine articles of Maori manufacture. Section 2 of the Act is as follows: "2.—In this Act, if not inconsistent with the context, the term 'Maori Antiquities' includes Maori relics, articles manufactured with ancient Maori tools and according to Maori methods, and all other articles or things of historical or scientific value (? from the Maori Antiquities point of view) or interest and relating to New Zealand,—but does not include any private collection not intended for sale, nor botanical or mineral collection of specimens."

The Governor is further authorised to acquire on behalf of the Colony such Maori antiquities as he deems expedient, and we understand someone in each of the principal districts is to be appointed to report on any such object proposed to be exported, with a view to its purchase by the Government if considered suitable. It is made illegal to export such articles without permission first obtained, and the duty of preventing the export is placed on the Customs and Police Officers.

We feel assured that every member of this Society will approve of the passing of this law, for it is a fact that requires no demonstration that valuable "Maori Antiquities" are constantly leaving this country to find a resting place in Europe or America, often in places which are not accessible to the public. If matters were allowed to continue long as at present, it would shortly become impossible to secure any *bona fide* works of Maori art for our own museums, and young New Zealanders, whether Pakeha or Maori, would only be able to see the art productions of their own country in some foreign land. Both Italy and Egypt have had to adopt the same course with respect to their antiquities.

The natural sequence to the steps now being taken is, of course, to secure that the remaining articles of Maori art shall be placed in

some repository where they will be under efficient care and open to the public. This involves a National Museum of Ethnology, and we trust that Parliament will see its way to carry on the good work already initiated by providing for such an institution. If we may judge from the speeches delivered at the time the above Act was passed, there is a strong concensus of opinion among the Members of Parliament that such an institution should be established. We understand also that, in the event of such provision being made, many of the leading Maori chiefs would be prepared to deposit some of their valuable heirlooms and other articles of Maori manufacture.

Looking to the objects with which this Society was founded, we feel sure that our members will give the matter their hearty support, and aid all they can in advocating so worthy an object.

At the instance of Mr. J. H. Bettany, one of our members, our Council passed a resolution (which will be found in the number of the Journal for last June) bringing this subject before the notice of the Government, and we have no doubt this carried some weight, tending towards the passing of the Act. But something further is required—our members should endeavour to influence public opinion in the direction of making the founding of an Ethnological Museum a popular thing.

So far as the present Act is concerned, many of our members have the opportunity of hearing of Maori Antiquities, and they can materially assist if they will communicate with the Government on the subject, for, we understand, there is a certain sum available for the purchase of such articles. We have no authority for saying so, but believe the Honourable The Native Minister is the proper person to communicate with—at any rate, pending the appointment of someone in each district.

We hope, whenever the time shall come, that a broad interpretation may be given to the term—"National Museum of Ethnology," and that it may be held to include Greater New Zealand; for it must not be lost sight of that this country now rules over a large number of islands in the Pacific, many of them inhabited by relatives of our Maoris, who are entitled to be represented by their works of art and manufacture in any national museum of the nature suggested. There yet remains in some of these islands much that might be gleaned to illustrate the life-history of the Polynesian Race.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [148] The Polynesians in South America.

In several papers published in this Journal, it has been suggested that the Polynesian Race, great navigators as they were, reached the coasts of South America, and the inference is that they brought from there the *kumara* root. Some confirmation of this hypothesis is found in an interesting article published in the "Geographical Journal," Vol. XVIII (December, 1901), p. 576, by Dr. Francisco P. Moreno, entitled, "Notes on the Anthropogeography of Argentina." He says—"Undoubtedly there is a connection between South Americans and North Americans, and also with the peoples of Polynesian origin, but the basis of the entire population was the union of the three types mentioned" (which he previously had described). "I shall not enquire here into the common origin of some of the Pacific Ocean races with those of South America, or into the similarities which they offer, explainable only by old land connections; but I will merely mention that in the graves of Rio Negro there are human remains that cannot be referred to any living race of South America, but only to those of Polynesia. Some of the skulls from the Rio Negro are of the Papuan type. Maori stone implements have been discovered at Cuzco in Peru, and at Santiago del Estero in Argentina; carved wood clubs, entirely similar to those of the Marquesas Islands, have also been brought from the ruins of Truxillo in Peru, and from Quillota in Chile, these being preserved in the La Plata Museum, while others have been discovered in Columbia, Ecuador, and other places in Peru. The similarity of some Polynesian monuments with those of Peru is well known, but it is unnecessary to go outside America." P. 582.—"It was near this spot (Santiago del Estero) that a Maori stone club was discovered." P. 588—"We find Polynesian anthropological elements mixed with the Patagonians, Polynesian culture amongst the Calchaqui and old Peruvian culture." The point in which we should be inclined to differ from Mr. Moreno is that this Polynesian element in South America is much later than the period of any land communication that may formerly have existed to the west of South America.—Ed.

### [149] "Hawaiian Beliefs regarding Spirits."

This is the title of a paper by our fellow-member, Mr. J. S. Emerson, of Honolulu, published in the Ninth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, just to hand. This paper is well worth perusal in connection with the beliefs of the Polynesian Race, and is, perhaps, more particularly interesting to New Zealanders as showing the identity in belief, notwithstanding the 4,000 miles that separate the two branches of the Race. Mr. Emerson mentions (*inter alia*) the *Leina Kauhane*, or jumping-off place of the spirits, in which, of course, the word *Leina* is identical with the Maori word *Reinga*, at the north cape of New Zealand, where spirits "jump off." This is pointed out by the editor, but there are several other places of a like nature in other islands of the Pacific, e.g., at Rarotonga, Mangaia, Samoa, &c., each in the west end of these groups. In the Chathams Islands the "jumping-off place" is on the north-west side of the island. It is probable that in each group the "jumping-off place" is approximately on that side from whence the early migrations first made the land when they colonised the various islands of the Pacific—the spirits were supposed to return to the Great Fatherland of the race by the same course the colonists took. It would be interesting to follow this up, and show for each group where the "jumping-off place" is situated geographically.—Ed.



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held at New Plymouth on March the 6th. For particulars see page xii of this number.

A MEETING of the Council was held on the 21st March, Mr. Kerr in the chair, when a large amount of correspondence was dealt with.

The following new members were elected :—

- 331 The Rev. Colin Bleazard, of West Maitland, N.S.W.
- 332 Peter Bell, Whanganui, N.Z.
- 333 G. D. Turner, 97, George Street, Dunedin, N.Z.
- 334 D. T. McIctosh, Resident Engineer, Whanganui, N.Z.
- 335 Hon. Thos. Kelly, M.L.C., Bell Block, New Plymouth, N.Z.
- 336 Eugene Christian, 177, Duane Street, New York, U.S.A.
- 337 W. Harrison Gill, Kobe, Japan.
- 338 James Drummond, "Lyttelton Times" Office, Christchurch, N.Z.
- 339 W. E. Spencer, Inspector of Schools, New Plymouth, N.Z.
- 340 Dr. A. C. Haddon, F.R.S., Inisfail, Hills Road, Cambridge, England.
- 341 James L. Whitney, Boston Public Library, Dartmouth, Boston, U.S.A.

Papers received :—

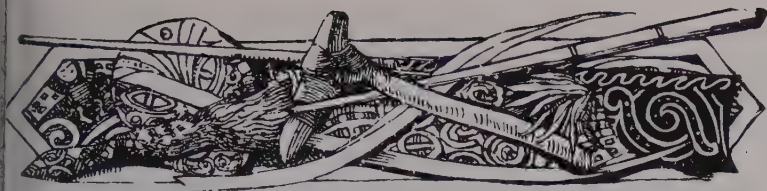
- 219 War Customs of the Maori. Elsdon Best.
- 220 Te Puna Kahawai i Motu. T. W. Rimini.
- 221 The Whence of the Maori. Lieut.-Col. Gudgeon, C.M.G.

The following list of Exchanges, &c., was read :—

- 1189 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Vol. lxxix, part 3, 1900
- 1190 " " " " Vol. lxx, part 1, 1901
- 1191 *Queensland Geographical Journal.* Vol. xvi, 1900-1901
- 1192 *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales.*  
Vol. xxxiv, 1900
- 1193a, b & c. *Na Mata.* Suva, Fiji, August, September, October and  
November, 1901
- 1194 *17th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1895-1896*  
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NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,  
AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,  
WITH ACCOUNTS\* OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-  
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED  
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

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BY ELSDON BEST OF TUHOE-LAND.

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PART II.

AHI MAHITIHI.

**T**HE *ahi mahitihiti* or *ahi rerere* is for the purpose of seeing who are the most daring of the warriors. It takes place prior to the starting of a war party, or to a fight. A large fire is kindled of dry wood, and when burning fiercely and the flames thereof flaring up, then the warriors, one by one, jump through the mounting flames. Those who are the most daring at this exercise will, it is thought, be most daring and bold in battle.

When Ngati-Pukeko held a portion of the Whirinaki valley, Kihi, of Ngati-Pukeko tribe, raised a *taua* (war-party) of his people and raided north to Taupo and Waikato. Ngati-Manawa and others took advantage of their absence and attacked the Ngati-Pukeko village of Niho-whatu, slaying many of the women and children. Messengers were at once sent to recall Kihi and the fighting men. They met the column marching homewards across the Kaingaroa Plains. Kihi at once proceeded to attack Ngati-Manawa, who, under Tarewa-a-rua, were camped at Rangi-ahua. In order to ascertain how his men would face the foe, Tarewa caused the *ahi mahitihiti* to be kindled, through the flames of which his warriors leaped. It is said that Tarewa, by reciting a certain invocation during the ceremony, was

able to ascertain which of his warriors would fall in the fray. Presumably the *aitua* (evil omens) were numerous, for the treacherous Manawa went down to Hades on that day before the weapons of Pukeko.

#### TU-MATA-REHUREHU, PAHUNU, HINAPO, &c.

We will now describe another series of misfortunes (*aitua*) which are ever liable to assail the followers of Tu and the innumerable lesser *atua* of the Maori Pantheon. These various troubles are caused by breaches of the unwritten but all powerful laws of *tapu*, in the diverse meanings of the latter word. The transgression of such laws in war-time will assuredly cause fighting men to be affected with nervousness, apprehension, dim sight, &c., and hence render his services in battle of practically no account. The special *atua* which presides over and is the cause of such afflictions is known as Tu-mata-rehurehu, or "dim-eyed Tu." Their effects may be described under the two headings of *Pahunu* and *Hinapo*, but in speaking of their cause, prevention, and cure, we may pool our notes, as these are practically the same (one seems to affect the nervous system and the latter the sight).

*Pahunu*.—This implies weakness, indecision, and nervousness in battle. A person so afflicted will begin to tremble on the approach of the enemy, although probably a brave and energetic fighting man at other times. The term *mahunu* has the same meaning, as also have the words *koera* (= *kowera*) and *pawera*, which is borne out by noting the root words, *hunu*=to char or singe, and *wera*=hot, burnt. Uneasiness, apprehension, anxiety, are implied as well as cowardice, but not ordinary cowardice, it is the effect of the sufferers sin against the laws of *tapu*, he is afflicted by *Tu-mata-rehurehu* (*ka ngana e Tu mata-rehurehu*). In Williams' Maori Dictionary we find *mahunu*=burnt: "*Whatu mahunu, whatu marara*, part of a *karakia* performed over pieces of *kamara* which were buried in the path of an approaching enemy, that when they should tread on the spot their legs might be burnt, and they be put to flight." *Mahunu* or *pahunu* in this case does not mean actually burnt, as by fire, but that the warriors will be affected by the unpleasant symptoms described above. The above custom we will hereafter describe under the heading of *Rongo-taka-whiu*.

When Makea-tu-tara essayed to perform the *tohi* rite (see *ante*) over his son Maui, he was so unfortunate as to make an error in repeating the invocation, the consequence being that he was afflicted by the *pahunu*. (See A.H.M., vol. 2, p. 91.)

I have never heard the word *pahunu* applied to aught but man. In the case of the lower animals the term *pawera* appears to be used.

\* Cf. *miti aitua* and a singular meaning assigned to the word *paka*. Also *pairi*.

The indiscretion and *puhore* (omen of non-success in hunting or fishing) known as *toitoi-o-kewa* will cause animals to become *pawera*—that is, apprehensive, shy, and difficult to capture. If a hunter speaks of the game he is going to hunt as if it were already caught, that is a *toitoi-o-kewa*, the pigs or what not will become *pawera*, and hence most difficult to catch.

The term *hauaitu* is also allied to the above. It means listless, without heart, as also starved with cold. Still *hauaitu* does not seem to be applied to the effects of transgressing *tapu* laws as *pahunu* is, but to the listlessness caused by sadness, by an error made in performing the war dance, &c. To yawn (*hitako*) is looked upon as a sign of *hauaitu*, whereas the *taiaroa* is deemed a *tohu toa* (sign of bravery). *Taiaroa* is a species of pandiculation, already described as the wordless sounds made by a sleepy person.

The *hinapo* or *kahupo* springs from the same causes as the *pahunu*. It is a dimness of vision inflicted by *Tu-mata-rehurehu*. The two terms are allied to *matapo*, or *kapo* (blind), the latter however are always used to denote ordinary or natural blindness, in this district, and the terms *hinapo* or *kahupo* to dimness of vision caused, as it were, by supernatural agency—i.e., by *Tu-mata-rehurehu*. The word *hinapouri* again is applied to the dark nights of the moon. I have heard that this affliction can be brought on a pursuer (in war) by the pursued, if the latter possesses sufficient power or prestige to render his invocation effective. In such case of course he might escape, as the pursuit would naturally slacken. However, the term *parahuhu* is usually applied to such a circumstance as the above. If afflicted by the *pura-huhu*, it is of no avail to pursue an enemy, even if you actually touch him, yet he will slip away from you.

The causes of these troubles are as follows—the eating by a person of the remains or refuse (*mānga*) of a meal partaken of by the eldest son (*mātāmua*) or eldest daughter (*tapairu*) of a chief's family, the same *mānga* being *tapu* to a high degree, even that no person may touch it. For a commoner to do so is a most grave crime. Again, if, in a battle, a man does not slay the first enemy he catches, but spares his life, he will be affected by *Tu-mata-rehurehu*, his sight and courage will be affected. It is probable, however, that this only applies to a young warrior in his first battle, and not to later affairs.

If a man partake of food that has been carried on the back of a *mātāmua* he will be affected—*ka pawera tona ngakau*—his heart (or mind) will become apprehensive. However, *tapu* persons were not in the habit of so carrying food. Any warrior carrying food while on the war trail must carry it in the left hand, that being the *noa* or common side of man. Eating of the sacred food set aside for an *atua* (god) will be followed by the same effect of timidity, indecision,



apprehension, or obscured vision. In pre-European days it was extremely dangerous to deal with *tapu* in any form, unless the proper rites, &c., were performed, or rules observed, hence the saying:—“*Kāua e aroaro-rua, kei ngāua koe e Tu-mata-rehurehu.*” That is, you should carefully observe the laws of *tapu*, lest you be affected by *Tu-mata-rehurehu*.

Another cause is the *piki-tua*—i.e., for a person to pass behind a priest when he is performing any rite or has the *tapu* heavy upon him. Such a person will be afflicted by the *pahunu* and *parahuhu*. To pass before a priest at such times is a *piki-aro*, and will, under similar circumstances, have the same effect. To interfere with any of the belongings or paraphernalia of a priest in war time will also bring the *hinapo* or kindred troubles upon the hapless interferer. As also will the fact of a person ridiculing or objecting to, the commands and decisions of the priest who is, to a great extent, conducting the campaign. Be it understood that we are speaking of the war-path and war times, and not of the times of peace, when some rules are relaxed and certain aspects of *tapu* not so severe.

The *kahupo* is also liable to afflict *matatuhi* (seers) if they do not hold to the narrow path of rectitude. Should one of these sages of second sight so far forget himself as to sleep or lie down in the sleeping place of the women—i.e., near the fire, or open space, down the centre of a house—he will be afflicted by the *kahupo*—that is to say, he will lose his power of second sight.\* To use women's clothing as a pillow will have the same effect upon a priest or seer. To be cured, he must perform the rite of *whakaepa*. An aged native, who had taken me as a pupil, once said to me, “Son! Ever shun the clothing and couches of women. They are unclean, *he toto paheke nei* (their blood is there). You will be assailed by the *kahupo* and the gods will cease to send you signs of coming events.”

The word *pahunu* is also used in connection with *whakama* (to be shy or ashamed), as appears in the following song:—

Kaore te whakama e pahunu noa nei . . e  
Me he wera tahutahu  
Nau na E Pero!  
E ka noa mai ra i Tukurangi raia . . e  
Na te mate wai ra e takoto i Taurito.”

Alas! the shame that unnerves (me),  
Like unto a burning heat,  
Such as caused by thee, O Pero!  
That fiercely burns on Tukurangi hill—  
Like the deep thirst at Taurito.

\* Observe, the *kahupo* does not affect his ordinary sight, but only his power of second sight.

Acting on the idea that prevention is better than cure, the head priest of a war party would sometimes go through the following singular antics:—Taking off his clothing he grasps a convenient tree branch and thus hangs suspended by his arms, at the same time extending his legs, between which the warriors pass, the priest repeating an invocation meanwhile. This performance is known as a *hirihiri taua*. Should any man laugh as he passes through, that man is doomed to fall in battle. This ridiculous performance was also supposed to cure any person under the influence of *Tu-mata-rehurehu*.

Another mode of curing the trouble, is the ceremony known as *ngau paepae*, during which the priest recited his *karakia*. The *paepae* is a very *tapu* object. (*Ngau paepae*, i.e. to bite the beam of a latrine.)

The *hirihiri taua* described above was sometimes performed by a *tapairu* (see ante), both as a cure and as a prevention. While engaged in such tasks a woman is known as a *rauhine*. As a rule the person lies down and the woman merely steps over him, the priest reciting the invocation to loosen the grip of *Tu-mata-rehurehu*, and restore the man, who, from a sacerdotal point of view is unclean.\* *Mehemea ka haere koe ki te riri, ki purangia e Tu-mata-rehurehu, ka puta koe i raro i nga kuha o te ruuhine, hai whakahorohoro tena i nga hauhauaitu, i nga hinapo. He whakaora i te tangata tena mahi.* “Suppose you are going to the wars, and are affected by *Tu-mata-rehurehu*, you pass between the thighs of the *rauhine*. That is to abolish the *hauhauaitu* and *hinapo*. That act saves man.” Another authority:—“*Ki te pangia te tangata e te pahunu i roto i te whawhai, me haere ki kakea e te tapairu, koinei to mua whakaora i te tangata.*” “If a person is affected by the *pahunu* in war, he should go and be stepped over by a *tapairu* (first born female of a family of note), that is how persons were cured in former times.”

Before the *ope tana* (war party) pulls out on the war path, they are addressed by a headman of the village home, warning them of many things and acts to be avoided, calling upon them to uphold the honour of their tribe, &c.

The word *hukiki* among Tuhoe is somewhat akin to *pahunu*. It means the fear of an unknown danger, presumably a presentiment of evil fortune. It has not the same meaning as *pahunu*, which latter is the fear of a seen and known danger. It is sometimes applied to a person talking in his sleep.—“*E hukiki ana tenei e moe nei.*”—i.e. This sleeping person is talking in a *hukiki* manner, as if he was afraid of some vague danger. Another use of the word I heard in a narrative of the destruction of Te Tini-o-Kawa-rero of Mokoia Island in Rotorua lake.—“*Ko mea tangata he tangata hukiki ki ona iwi, a i hara mai i*

\* i.e. unclean, if he has infringed a law of *tapu*.

*runga i te hukiki.*" Such and such a person had a vague fear of his own people (at Tauranga), hence he came here (to Rotorua) with that fear on him.

In olden times a singular rite known as *Ka-mahunu* or *Whakapahunu* obtained in this district (Bay of Plenty). Its object was to render a person of evil ways ashamed of his actions, to prick his conscience and make him uneasy in his mind, until he reformed. It was not Black Magic—*makutu*, which would have sought his life, but the sort of thing that a person would exercise on a relative, whom he did not wish to slay, on account of the objectionable behaviour or habits of such relatives. It was, I take it, the first glimpse of a higher code of ethics than that of murder, battle and sudden death. It was performed to an invocation, one of the many which come under the generic term of *ahi*. It took place at a sacred fire known as the *ahi whakaene*. When Whakarau, a famed ancestor, arrived at the scene of a cannibal feast, he found nothing left save the spit (*huki*) on which the heart had been cooked—hence the tribal apophthegm—“*Whakaha kau ana a Whakarau.*”—i.e. The flavour alone remains for Whakarau. He then recited the *Ka-mahunu* in order to render his neglectful hosts repentant of their inhospitality. Te Whataniu, of Ngati-Whare, tells me that the *Ka-mahunu* was used in order to cause the enemy to be afflicted by *Tu-mata-rehurehu*. It was, however, necessary in such a case to slay one of the enemy and roast his heart, over which the *karakia* was repeated. So much for the *Ka-mahunu*.

The original Polynesian settlers in New Zealand appear to have been acquainted with the *kahupo*, as the following extract from a native MS. will show:—“The people who came from Hawaiki (the last migration) were evil. But the people of Aotea-roa (i.e., the original inhabitants of New Zealand) were a good and peaceful people. The ancient peoples of Toi waged no wars. If the Hawaiki peoples now dwelling in Aotea-roa (New Zealand) uphold their race, then will I uphold the original tribes of this land, the people of Toi. The coming of the Hawaiki people was like the coming of the English. The people who held this country were a distinct people. They were the Toi tribes. Those old peoples carefully preserved their history and ancient knowledge, which were taught in their *whare maire*, where also they were taught the ways of procuring food, together with the ancient customs, &c. As also the rules pertaining to the taking and collecting of food, fish and birds and roots. They were performers of the *tira ora* rite.\* They flew kites of *aute*, and played the games of

\* A rite performed in order that people may retain their physical, intellectual and spiritual vigour, &c.

*teka*, the *whai*, and *pa-tok toko*. Their great misfortune (or evil omen) was the *kahupo*, caused by desecrating the property or clothing or burial places of the *mātāmua* (see *ante*).

*Tu-matapongia*. This being allied to *kahupo* we here give it. It is an invocation to render persons invisible to an enemy. One such may be found at p. 427 of "*Nga Moteatea*," it is entitled "*He karakia mata-hunahuna, kia ngaro ai te taua*," i.e., an incantation to conceal, by which war parties may be rendered invisible. *Tu-mata-warea* is a similar *karakia* (spell) to *Tu-matapongia*. When Te Kooti was being pursued by the Government forces at Paeroa he is said to have escaped by means of these *karakia*, which rendered his men invisible. When the Harema *p* at Ahikereru fell to Col. Whitmore's force in 1869, it is said that Tamehana, father of Pihopa, alias "Blanket," escaped from the Arawa contingent by reciting *Tu-matapongia* as he lay in the ditch outside the earthworks of Harema.

#### MATAKITE.—SECOND SIGHT; PROPHECY; MAORI SEERS.

We now come to a matter that had a very great influence with the Maori people, viz., the oracular prophecies and utterances delivered by priests who were mediums of the *atua Maori*, the gods (so called) of the Maori people. These pertained principally to war, although the seer (*mata-kite* or *mata-tuhi*) also used his gift in connection with other matters.

A native who has, or professes to have, the power of second sight, is known as a *matatuhi* or *matakite*, or *tohunga titiro mata* or *tanguta matamata.aitu*. The meaning is the power to see the gods or their manifestations. If the seer is circumspect in his behaviour, then the *atua* will warn him by signs and tokens of approaching war parties, or impending disaster of any kind to the people. Various means are employed by the *atua* in order to so warn the medium, and through him the tribe. We have already mentioned many of these agents, as the stars, the *takiri*, *tanaki*, &c. Also should the human medium, the seer, dream that he is drowned, that is a serious omen.

The signs or warnings of the *atua* must be strictly obeyed, otherwise disaster will overtake the people. Unfortunately many of the oracular utterances were of so dubious a nature as regards the language thereof as to render their meaning doubtful; through misinterpretation of such, many defeats are on record. If the gods send a warning that an expedition will be defeated, the warriors must remain or return home and await more favourable signs.

Should the seer, by breaking some law of *tapu*, be afflicted by the *hinapo*, i.e., be deprived by the gods of his power of second sight, he must carefully perform the *whakaepa* rite in order that his (spiritual) vision and prestige be restored. For know ye that the office of seer



carries with it considerable *mana*. The *atua*, so termed, are usually deified ancestors, the human mediums are termed *waka* or *kanwaka*, or *kaupapa*. Even should an enemy endeavour to surprise us yet the *atua* will warn us through our seer—for our exalted ancestors thus watch over us and protect us. The warning usually comes to the seer in his sleep (that is he dreams it), his spirit (*wairua*) sees or hears the warning. Albeit afar off, yet will the *wairua* see it, for does not the spirit of man leave his body during sleep, and range far lands?

We will now give a few of the prophecies, oracular utterances or *kite* by which the seer or medium is warned of the gods that trouble loometh in the near future, *i.e.*, we will give the form of words used:—

The god is supposed to be speaking through the medium: “O grandson! we shall be burnt. Where is the company of warriors? Alas! for us two.\* O medium! That is thine (*i.e.*, they work, &c.) O medium! Alas! the pain of the weapon! We shall be (feel) like that, O medium! Notwithstanding that we two shall be gone (*i.e.*, taken, overcome, suffer); my food shall be the fish (*i.e.*, human victim, slain, or *papa*). If my food shall be seen, then shall the company do likewise (*i.e.*, feed on the slain). Thou shalt strike the stars and moon (*i.e.*, the chiefs). Then shall we two rest, (whilst he) laments over his (lost) home.”

“*E mokopuna, ka wera taua, kei hea te rangapu? Aue! tauu E waka! Ko tau ra tena, E waka! Aue! Te mamae a te patu. Kia pena taua, E waka! He ahakoa taua te riro ai. Taku kai he ika. Mehe-mea ka kitea taku kai, kia penatia ake te rangapu taua. Taia iho e koe, ko te whetu, ko te marama. Noho ana taua. Tangi ana ki tona kaininga.*

The *ika* referred to in the oracle (*mata* or *kite* or *moemoea*) was the *papa*, which appears in some form in most of such prophecies. The *papa* is something, animate or inanimate, which by command of the *atua* must be slain, seen or captured. This done, and should no ~~law~~ of *tapu*, &c., have been broken in any way—then is victory assured. A war party will wait until the *papa* is secured before delivering the grand assault. Until such time they will merely fight so as to capture the *papa* or to defend themselves from an attack.

The seer, having received the prophecy or *mata*, then proceeds to disclose and explain it to the people. He will arrange as to the time of starting of the warriors, and for the attack or assault. He explains to them the *papa*, what it is and how to secure it, also sometimes, the men who will fall in the fray. Hence a seer was often both priest and fighting general of a tribe.

\* A chief or priest, speaking to or of his war-party, refers to them as “us two,” “we two,” &c. The god addresses the medium as “grandson.”—ED.

Another such oracular saying is the following :—

“*Me mohio tonu kei te haere mai te rangapu. Kia tupato, E mokopuna ! Ana taua, kia mau taua, mana tonu taua. E huaki E mokopuna ! Aue ! Te mamea o te patu, E ! E koro, to kai he tuna paewai.*”

“It is necessary to know the coming of the company of warriors. Be careful ! O grandson ! There we two are, hold fast we two ; we are for him. When the attack occurs, O grandson ! Alas ! the pain of the weapon’s stroke, O ! O old man ! thy food is the *paewai* eel.”

Here the *papa* is an eel of the kind known as *paewai*. When the *papa* is secured, victory is sure. Hence the saying, *Kua riro i a mea te papa*,” is equivalent to saying “So and so has won the victory.”\*

After Nga-Puhi had defeated the Arawa at Mokoia by means of their newly-acquired guns, they marched against Ngati-Awa and attacked them at the O-kahu-kura *pa*. Tama-a-te-rangi was the *matakite*, or seer, of Ngati-Awa, and his *atua* rose nobly to the occasion, giving the following *kite*:—“*Te he, E mokopuna ! ana taua, Aue ! E mokopuna ! Ko au te utu, kia kaha ! He ah ! koa au te riro ai, kia kaha ki to taonga. Ko au te utu.*” “The evil, O grandson ! here are we two. Alas ! O grandson ! I am the payment ; be strenuous ! Notwithstanding that I shall be taken, be strenuous in (securing) thy property (*i.e.*, death of the enemy). I shall be the payment.”

Tama explained the *mata* to Ngati-Awa saying : “We must fight bravely and then shall Nga-Puhi fall. I alone of our people will be slain.” And even so, when Nga-Puhi assaulted the *pa* at break of day the fight raged fiercely, and no sound came from Ngati-Awa save the clash of weapons. Te Korokoro, of Nga-Puhi, ordered a volley to be fired and then fell Tama-a-rangi, the *matatuhi*, or seer. But his death was a good one, he died in battle, and the gods had foretold it. And Nga-Puhi, with ~~their~~ guns, fled from the field of O-kahu-kura and from Ngati-Awa of the *rakau maori* (native weapons) wailing as they fled. “*Tenei te rere kau nei, ka pau te titoi e Tautari, ka wera, ka wera i te ahi.*”

Another *mata* of old had an article of clothing mentioned as a *papa*. It runs as follows :—

“Aue !  
Kai hea ra te rangapu  
E waka, E !  
Kai hea te rakau tu tahu,  
Te tangata pūhēki  
Aue ! kia homai ana ki a koe  
Kia hoatu ana e koe

\* We are inclined to think that *papa* in this case is the battle-ground or field, *i.e.*, victory, not the other *papa*, the author is describing ; at any rate *papa* has also that meaning.—Ed.

Ko te whetu, ko te marama  
Taia iho e koe ki raro  
Taku kakahu, he kakahu waero."

Alas!

Where is the company?

O medium!

Where is the single tree

And the muffled man?

Alas! 'twill be given to thee.

And thou shalt also give.

The stars and the moon

Shall be stricken down by these,

My garment is a red garment.

In this *matakite* the *papa* were (1) a man muffled up (*puheki*) in a cloak covered with dogs tails fastened to it, (2) a lone tree, *i.e.*, a tree standing by itself.

Again, in the following the *papa* is given as a man wearing a *puahi* cloak:—

"Aue! Aue!

Te mamae o te patu

He ahakoa

Pena tonu mai te marumaru mai o te hoariri

Kia naomia ake e koe

Ko te whetu, ko te marama

Taia iho ki raro

Noho ana taua i te taonga

Taku kakahu he puahi

Kia kaha! kia kaha!

Ka noho koe i te ao marama."

Alas! Alas?

The pain of the weapons.

But what of that?

For the enemy feels the same.

Thou shall grasp

The stars and the moon,

And strike them down.

We shall possess the property.

My garment is a *puahi*.

Be strong, be strenuous,

And thou shall remain in the world of light.

A *matatuhi* (seer) is also extremely useful in tracing stolen property. If you have lost an article by theft, just take the *ahua* (semblance or personality) of that article to the *matatuhi*, and by the power of his spells he will cause the *wairua*, or astral body of the thief to appear before him. Also if a person be under the spell of a magician, the *matatuhi* can find out who bewitched him by the same process. The *matatuhi* is also able to see the *tira māka* as they roam through space, or hover around mountains. These strange beings are *wairua tangata* (human spirits). It is the *atua* that enables a seer to see such things. The word *māka* means timid, wild, or active, lithe, and *tira* a company.

Female seers are by no means unknown. Riperata, of Rangitaiki, was a famous *matatuhi*, as also was Reretaro, a blind woman of Tuhoe. A female *matakite* may be found at the Ngati-Pukeko village at Whakatane. Te Umu-tiri-rau, a woman, was the *kaupapa*, or medium, of the *atua* Te Ihi-o-te-ra, and a seer.

We now give the famous *matakite* for the battle of Orona, when Tuhoe marched on Taupo to avenge the *kanohi kitea*, or "seen face" of Taihako, within the vale of Rua-tahuna. At the time of this occurrence the Tuhoe tribe were at the zenith of their power. They possessed a shrewd and able warrior-priest in the person of Uhia, the medium of the tribal war god, Te Rehu-o-Tainui, whose wondrous oracles had enabled Tuhoe to carry all before them. The disasters of Okiri and Puraho-tangihia were of the past. Te Rehu-o-Tainui had risen to power and fame. Ngai-Takiri, Ngati-Raka, and other tribes of the outlands had been smitten hip and thigh on the fields of Pourutake and Te Kahikatea. The great Arawa league had gone down to Hades on the red field of Puke-kai-kāhu. And now the Tuhoe clans called upon Uhia to consult his *atua* in regard to the projected raid on the sea of Taupo.

Uhia and his *atua* (god) rose to the occasion. To his vision, as he lay in sleep, came the *papa* ordained by Te Rehu-o-Tainui. The one was a canoe, Te Hiahia by name, the other a man clad in a red cloak, his name being Te Kiore. Uhia then explained the oracle to the warriors: "There are two *papa*, a canoe and a man in a red cloak. The canoe must be seen and the man slain. Until then we may not deliver the grand attack. Slay ye this man and *find* the canoe. Should this be done by you, and the commands of the *atua* obeyed, then naught shall remain in the realm of Tu-wharetoa save the birds which ever drift upon the waters of Taupo-moana."

Uhia then disclosed the *ngeri*, or war song, for the *matakite*. Tuhoe marched on Taupo and camped at Orona, where for two days they defended themselves against the attacks of Ngati-Tu-wharetoa. On the third day the impatient warriors saw the canoe *papa*, Te Hiahia, approaching on the lake, and seated therein was Te Kiore, of the red cloak. When the canoe touched the shore, Uhia, the warrior priest, gave the word and the bushmen of Tuhoe leaped to their ranks and across the waters of Taupo-nui-a-Tia resounded the war song (*ngeri*) for the *matakite* of Oroua:—

"Ko wai te waka-e?  
Ko Te Hiahia te waka-e  
Me he peke mai a Te Kiore  
Ki runga ki nga taumata  
O Uru-kapua ra  
Ki reira tirotiro ai  
E! Ha!"



What canoe is that ?  
 Te Hiahia is the canoe.  
 If Te Kiore shall spring  
 Above to the brow  
 Of Uru-Kapua there  
 Then shall he see  
 E! Ha!

Before the echoes had died away across the shining waters, Te Kiore of the red robe sank in death and the canoe *papa* was secured. Elated by their success, Tuhoe charged the enemy and inflicted upon them a crushing defeat. Then they marched back to the rugged mountains of Tuhoeland, and the joy of the savage heart was theirs. For the "seen face" (*kanohi kitea*) of Taihako within the vale of Rua-tahuna was avenged.

And nothing remained at Taupo-moana save the drifting waters.

When Tuhoe defeated the tribes of Te Kareke, Ngati-Raka, and Ngai-Takiri on the memorable field of Pouru-take, at Ruatoki, there were two famous *kauwaka* (mediums) in the field to uphold the hearth of the warriors of Tuhoe, Uhia, as medium of Te Rehu-o-Tainui and Maunga-haruru, as medium of Pare-houhou, a female *atua* of the Waimana tribes. The *matakite* was as follows:—

"Hurihia ki muri ki to tuara  
 Tikina aku mea ki waho  
 Ki te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa  
 E takoto mai nei  
 He koronga naku kia tae au  
 Ki nga uru kahika  
 Ki Ohui, ki Ouama  
 Kia kata noa mai te kikihitara  
 Koti paepae, kohurehure, kikihi pounamu  
 E tangi ana ki toŋa whenua ake  
 Ka tipuria e te moheuheu  
 Tangi kau ana te mapu-e."

Turn now (thy thoughts) behind thy back  
 And attack my people of outside  
 At the great sea of Kiwa  
 That lies there before us.  
 It is my desire to reach  
 The clump of Kahika wood  
 At Ohui, at Ouama,  
 The cicada shall laugh  
 As it flits, as it skips; the green cicada,  
 Lamenting for its country  
 Now overgrown with weeds:  
 Sighs are now alone heard.

The following is the *matakite* for the battle of Puke-kai-kahu, which was fought on the shores of Lake Rere-whakaitu, and in which Tuhoe defeated Te Arawa, killing Te Huri-nui and other leading chiefs:—

" Ko Te Rangi-ka-tukua koe  
 Waiho hoki e haere ana  
 Koi whiua koe e Rongo-taka-whiu  
 Kia mate ko te uri tunewha  
 I te awatea, kai Moura.  
 Kai a Tionga te paenga mai  
 O te ure putete te huruhuru  
 A-E apu ra i te kirikiri tai  
 E-a ! "

Art thou Te Rangi-ka-tukua ?  
 Let him then proceed,  
 Lest thou be punished by Rongo-taka-whiu.  
 When the bleared-eyed one is killed  
 In broad daylight at Moura  
 Along with Tionga will be the heap  
 Of those dressed up in ancient costume  
 Who will grovel in the gravel—  
 E ! A !

For the above expedition the *papa* was a *kawan* (a bird, the cormorant). As Uhia explained that bird represented Te Huri-nui, a high chief of Te Arawa. Should the bird be captured, then would Te Huri-nui be slain by Tuhoe, and all should be well.

So the Urewera League lifted the trail for the Arawa country. They camped at Ohaua the first night, and as they lay in camp a *kawan* was seen winging its way up the valley. Here was the *papa* of the prophecy, and anxious eyes followed its flight. To their great satisfaction it settled upon a *maire* tree, where one Karere succeeded in spearing it. Then was the way clear to the bushmen and, under Uhia of Te-Rehu-o-Tainui, they proceeded to fulfil the *matakite*.

Tuhoe explain their defeat at Rangi-houa by the Wairoa tribe in a very simple way. The attendant *tohunga* had given orders that no women were to be allowed to eat of the flesh of the first enemy slain, for that is the *ika tapu* (sacred fish) and is offered to the *atua* (or god) of the priest. However, one witless warrior gave his wife a piece of the flesh of the *mataika* (first slain), which she ate. The mandate of the *atua* was thus disregarded, and of course Tuhoe was defeated. What could they expect ?

The following is another sample of a *matakite* put into the form of a *ngeri* or war song :

" Awhitia, awhitia  
 Kia piri, kia tata  
 Ko ta te kiko wheriko koau  
 Piri tauea i te tara  
 Hokahokaitia te ure  
 E aitia atu ra  
 Awhitia kia piri  
 Ka piki, ka piki,

Nga puke tapu ki Ruatahuna  
 E ngungu tai, ngungu tai  
 O ringaringa-ha !  
 O waewae-ha !  
 Te atua i rere-ha !  
 Ka potaka te whenua-ha !  
 O ngutu pakakeha."

When, in 1864, 'Tuhoe decided to march north to Waikato and fight the *Pakeha* (Europeans), one Penetiti was priest and prophet of the force and took a prominent part in the fighting. He was a medium of the ancient and powerful war god, Te Po-tuatini. His *matakite* for the fight at Orakau we here give :—

"Tomina noa atu taku kaki  
 He turi ngongengonge-e  
 Ki te kai ki te ure  
 E hika hoki koe e kuika noa nei  
 Ka hoki mai oneone ra  
 Waiho ki te mea ki waenga ota  
 Ka whano, ka wareware  
 Ka wairutu ai ahau ki te aue  
 Ki te whakatangihanga  
 O te ngu parera  
 Na Te Whatanui me ko 'Haeata  
 E whakakeua,  
 He tama kiri ngutu  
 Pahu te kiri o te kai  
 Pau koroki i au-e."

Parched (with vain regrets) is my throat,  
 But disabled am I,  
 From enjoying the fruits of the land.  
 O woman, that vainly desires,  
 The return of our lands.  
 Now left for useless weeds  
 Soon will all be forgotten.  
 Tears course down as I lament  
 On listening to the loud reports.  
 Of the sounding guns.  
 By Te Whatanui's and Rangi-haeata's spirits  
 Are they directed,  
 With loud report, but resultless,  
 Wounding only the skin—  
 I speak in vain.\*

And here follows the *matakite* of Rewi Maniapoto for the same fight, viz., Orakau :—

"Tokotokona na te hau tawaho  
 Koi toko atu  
 I kite ai au i Remu-taka ra

\* Both of these *matakite* are exceedingly obscure ; even with the notes of the natives to help in the translation, sense cannot be made of them. Riwi Maniapoto was at the time of Orakau, in 1864, fighting the British forces to hold the Waikato country, which was then occupied by the troops.—ED.

I kite ai au ma taku kni ki Wai-matā-e  
 Tohungia mai e te kokoreke ra  
 Katahi nei hoki ka kitea te karoro tu a wai  
 I tu awaawa ra  
 Ma te kahore anake e noho toku whenua  
 Kai tua te ra e whiti ana  
 E noho ana ko te koko koroki  
 I ata kiki tau."

Compelled (are we) by outside winds (to fight)  
 Oppose them not.  
 In spirit-land I saw the ancient burial place—  
 With my mother visited the place of flesh-cutting flints.  
 It was the kokoreke bird that pointed out,  
 And then I saw the sea-gull of the waters  
 Standing in the valley (an evil omen),  
 Nothing shall my lands occupy  
 Hereafter will be the sunshine (peace)  
 And the song of the koko will be heard,  
 But I alone will live to tell of it.\*

When the intertribal war was raging round the rugged shores of Waikare-moana, one Rako had the following *matakite*:—

"Tirohia atu Tarakumukumu  
 Kai te moana e kupa ana  
 E te tuara no Paikea  
 Hai whakawhiti ki rawahi  
 E aki te timo i a Motukura  
 I a Motuhanga, i a Timutara-hu."

Look yonder at Tura-kumukumu  
 On the lake belching forth  
 As from the back of Paikea (the whale)  
 To convey him across;  
 Dashing is the pricker of Motu-kura,  
 Of Motu-hanga, of Timu-tara,  
 Hn!

Ngati-Huri, of Maunga-pohatu, said: "We will go to the wars." And they went. They also returned—at least some of them did. About thirty-two stayed away, under the rising sun, where the mountain of the Lost Bird stands. The chiefs of that party were Te Purewa, Maunga-haruru, and others. On arriving at Te Ahi-manu, Te Purewa said, "We will rest here awhile." But Maunga-haruru said, "Not so! There is no reason why we should do so." Then Te Purewa explained that his *atua*, Te Rangi-kata-taina had warned him that the war party must stay awhile at his *pu harakeke* (clump of flax), and that if they did so the enemy (Ngati Kahungunu) would be defeated. Should they neglect so to do, then Ngati-Huri would fall. In fact the *pu harakeke* was the *papa* and must be seen, and the party stay by it awhile before going into action. Maunga-haruru, who was medium of the *atua* Tu-nui-a-te-ika, objected, and the

\* See note on foot of preceding page.



matter was left for the party to decide, and they all sided with Maungaharuru. Te Purewa was deeply displeased. He took the *pohoi* (feather ear ornament) from his ear. This was the sign of his despatching the *atua* Te Po-tuatini to the village home to acquaint the tribe with the fact that the expedition was doomed. Te Purewa spoke, saying: "You have disregarded my word. Go! Go on your way, but you will perish beneath the weapons of Kahu-ngunu." As they did, for next morning the party fell into a double ambush (*whakamoe kokoti*) and lost the famous chiefs Tai-turakina and Te Whetu, with thirty others.

Pio, of the sons of Awa, said to me: "Friend! It was I who saved Tuhoe and Ngati-Whare people. It was during the days of fighting. I went to Waikare-moana. As I was crossing the lake, under cover of the night, I saw an *atua* (god, demon). It was like unto a star, and was flashing above the great cliff. I came to land and found the Tuhoe camp the other side of the cliff. I said to them: "You are in the midst of the enemy, be wary!" This made them cautious, and they were ready for the enemy, who attacked them next morning. Therefore I say it was I who saved those people."

When Ngati-Manawa and Ngati-Haka were marching to attack Ngati-Pou on Te Pokohu Block, the gods of the latter warned them that an enemy was approaching, and thus gave them an opportunity to escape.

When Tuhoe were engaged in the long series of fights which ended in their conquest of Waikare-moana, one Mohaka, a priest and seer of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, received a notification from his *atua*, that if he (Mohaka) were to see a dog of a certain appearance, that it would be a sign that peace would shortly be made. Some time after, Te Ahuru of Tuhoe, visited Hipara, of Kahungunu, and took with him his dog named Te-Iwi-mokomoko. Mohaka saw the dog and at once declared it to be the one that he had seen in his vision. He named the dog Awhi-nuku. At that interview of Te Ahuru and Hipara, peace was made, the boundary between the two tribes being laid down at Kuha-tarewa and Turi-o-Kahu, of which more anon.

Some few generations ago the inhabitants of the great Karioi pa in the Whakatane valley, were startled one morning by the sight of a man swiftly running up the valley, and ever crying as he ran "*Ko te whakaariki E! Ko te whakaariki!*" (A war party! a war party!). This was Te Ahi-raratu, who had been captured by a hostile force, and had escaped to warn his friends. The enemy besieged the fort for some time, but found that they could not take it. They then told the besieged people to come out and visit the camp of the besiegers, promising that they would not be hurt. Strange as it may appear the besieged at once left the pa, men, women and children, and descended to the camp of the enemy. One man only was taken from them, and

he was the chief Tama-whai. He was captured because he was the *papa* of the enemy's *matakite*, and was kept to be slain as an offering to their war god. That god never had the divine pleasure of consuming the essence of Tama-whai's roasted heart—but that is another story, of which we will speak anon.

The war god of the Ngai-Tu and Ngai-Te Riu *hapus* of Tuhoe, is Te Ihi-o-te-ra, whose *aria* or form of incarnation is a *whe* (mantis). When those *hapu* are on the war-trail, the medium sends the *atua* on in advance of the *ope taua* or war party, in order to obtain something from the person of one of the enemy, as a *maawe*. Probably the *atua* will bring back a lock of human hair, which he delivers to the priest-medium, who examines it and says: This is the hair of the chief So and so, *totangata tena* "\*" *i.e.*, the chief whose hair has been obtained is the *papa* of the fight, and if he is slain all will be well. The hair or other item is used as an agent or medium through which the enemy may be affected by incantations of the priest-seer.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, of Te Wairoa, rallied round the priest-warrior Mohaka. The word of Mohaka was this, "We will gather our fighting men and scale Huiarau to attack Rua-tahuna. The insolent mountaineers of Tuhoe shall be humbled and the vale of Rua-tahuna a province of Te Wairoa-tapoko-rau. The *kite* has come to me, and there are two *papa*, a lone tree (*rakau tu tahi*) and a light haired man. You must see the tree and capture the *urukehu* (light haired person), but on no account must the man be killed. He must be degraded (*me mimi i te waha*). Should you slay the *urukehu* then will you return to Te Wairoa on all fours (*i.e.*, defeated). But find the lone tree, capture and degrade the *urukehu*, then shall you dwell in the land, generation after generation, years untold."

Alas for the hopes of the rising sun. Mohaka and his merry followers attacked Rae-whenua at Rua-tahuna, where to their great joy they found an *urukehu*, one Mata-ngaua. Mata fled and was pursued by the invaders, who caught him near a lone tree which stood on the Manawa-ru range, above the present village of Mātātua. But instead of merely degrading him, the excited warriors slew him. Then was the end clear. Mohaka and his party were defeated and pursued for many miles. So much for those who disregard the injunctions of a war god.

#### ATUA MAORI (MAORI GODS).

Hereunder will be found an incomplete list of *atua Maori* of the Tuhoe, Ngati-Awa, and Arawa tribes. There are many more but we have included the names of those which are mentioned in these Notes. The term "god" is really not applicable to these beings. Neither the

\* *i.e.* He is your man—to be slain understood.

invisible *atua*, his *aria* (or form of incarnation), nor yet the medium (human or inanimate) were really worshipped. *Atua Maori* were, with few exceptions, malignant demons, to be feared and placated or conciliated, but not worshipped. Their principal task seems to have been the inflicting upon mankind of divers evils, pains, and penalties. Of the few good offices performed by them, the warning of the people in regard to coming troubles, seems to have been the most important.

Tu, supreme war god	Irakewa
Te Po-tuatini	Te Weka
Tu-nui-a-te-ika	Reko
Te Hukitā	Kaka
Te Iho-o-te-rangi	Tara-kumukumu
Maru	Tupai
Maru-te-whare-aitu } possibly	Parehouhou
Ue-nuku	Te Tuhi
Ihi-o-te-ra	Te Kotuku
Kahukura	Rongo-takawhiu
Makawe	Te Ririo
Rongomai	Te Rehu-o-Tainui
Itupawa	Te Pu-tapu
Te Rewha-o-te-rangi	Tama-i-waho
Puhi	Awanui
Wheawhean	Te Kanawa
Pare-whakarunga	Tamure
Tamarau	Marongorongo
Te Tahī-o-te-rangi	Tama-nui-rangi
Te Rangi-wharona	Karukaru
Tu-Kai-te-uru	Tai-o-Ruatapu
Ruamano	Heraro
Ira-koihu	Papaka
Whiti-kaeaea	Te Au-ki-Rangitaiki
Karaha	Peketahi
Tama-wera	Te Aputahi-a-Pawa
Whakakau-ariiki	Kopu
Uru-karaerae	Tauwheti
Tama-ao-rangi	Titi
Kai-uaua	Te Kawau-ruku-ron
Te Tau-kanihi	

The vast majority of the so-called gods of the Maori were simply deified ancestors. Many of the war-gods (*atua mo te riri*) of the Maori were simply tribal gods, who would probably be unknown in another part of the island. There were, however, some of the war-gods who were, if not universally recognised, certainly known to the majority of the tribes. In this latter category are included the *atua* Maru, Rongomai, Itupawa, Puhi, Kahukura, and Uenuku.

We will now pass a few remarks upon some of these *atua*. Tu was the supreme war god, and generally recognised as such, except possibly by the Aotea tribes of the West Coast, who would appear to have

looked upon Maru as occupying that exalted position. I have never heard that Tu has any visible form of incarnation (*aria*), or that he is ever appealed to by seers in regard to *matakite*. He is above those tasks, he emblemises war. Tu is of far Polynesian fame, and possibly hails from far lands, away beyond the Great Ocean of Kiwa—if he had his rights. The name Tu reminds us of Tiu or Tiw, the Dark God of the early Teutons, to meet which god was death.

The following is a genealogy brought down from Tu. In this line Te Moremore-o-te-rangi is the first name known in Maori history:—

Tu=Kopae-rangi

Te Uma-tu

Te-wairua

Te Imu-rangi

Te Hiko-o-Tu

Te Kanapu-o-te-rangi

Hine-koha

Taumata

Rukutia

Te Rangi-matinitini

Para-whenua-mea

Te Pupu

Te Hoata

Te Moremore-o-te-rangi

Kautete-tu

Wai-heke-tua

Ngatoro-i-rangi †

Tangihia

Kahu-kura

Tuhoto-ariki

Rangi-tauira

Tukua

Tu-maihi

Tu-makoha

Tara-whai

Te Ahiahi-o-tahu

Rangi-mamao

Tawari

Te Uru-waea

Patu-po-kohu

Kai-whakapae

Te Puri-o-te-rangi

Patu-pakeke

Tapuika

Pio Te Tihi (born 1823)

Two more generations

Now Maru has a visible *aria*, and also condescends to act as an oracle, and perform the various duties of a tribal god. Tu alone stands supreme. Weapons, war girdles, &c., all emblemise Tu whose name is applied to them, so long as the *tapu* is upon a war party and its paraphernalia. Tu the Fierce is the general meaning of the many secondary names applied to this all-powerful being.\*

Te Po-tuatini is probably the principal wargod of the Tuhoe (Urewera) tribe. Tu-nui-a-te-ika is a great destroyer of man, his *aria* or visible form is a star (probably a shooting star). I am informed that Ngati-Kahununu, of Te Wairoa, sent this *atua* to destroy Hatua, a chief of Ngati-Awa. As my informant put it—"We saw the *atua*, like unto a star, flaring through space." The way to escape this *atua* is to hug the side of the food oven and the dread places where food is prepared. For he is excessively *tapu* and cannot approach such places. But for a *tapu* person to do this would be exceedingly dangerous, so that he would be placed between the devil and the deep sea, which is annoying.

The *mokomoko* lizard is the *aria* of the god Te Hukitā. This god was consulted much in Tuhoe-land in regard to war. (*He atua tu parekura*†), and would give warning as to what men would be slain. Te Iho-o-

te-rangi, Maru-te-whare-aitu, Rongomai and Itupawa were war

\* The god Tu, of course, stands on a different footing to the others mentioned. He is a racial god; the others are local.—ED.

† Came to New Zealand in "Te Arawa" canoe circa 1350,

‡ A god presiding over battlefields,



gods of the Arawa tribe. The *aria* of Te Iho-o-te-rangi was a ball or lock of hair (*poi makuwe*), as we have seen under 'Omens.' Rongomai could sometimes be seen in flight through space—*Ka rere korakora*—(flying with a train of sparks), his *aria* was a meteor. When the Rangiuuru *pa* at Otaki was being besieged, the god Rongomai was invoked by the besiegers, and that *atua* was seen by all flying through the air, like unto a flame of fire. He shot down into the *pa* with a noise like thunder, and the earth around was thrown up in heaps and scattered. It is needless to state that the *pa* fell.\* Uenuku is a famous war god, his *aria* or visible form being the rainbow. Uenuku is said to have married a celestial visitor, one Tairi-a-kohu or Hine-pukohu-rangi (the personified form of mist) who left him and returned to the sky. Uenuku continued to search for her, afar off, until he died, and then he became a rainbow. Haere and Kahukura are also rainbow gods. Te Rewha-o-te-rangi is a deified ancestor of Ngati-Awa, whose *aria* appears to be a star.

My good friend Hamiora Pio is the present medium of this *atua*, he who has patiently guided me up the steep sidelings of Parnassus, and given me much good advice anent the best way to avoid the dread arts of the wizard.

Puhi is a sacred war *karakia* (invocation) of the Ngai-Te-Riu and Ngai-Tu clans of Tuhoe, and would appear to be a deified ancestor, inasmuch as his descendants are most careful not to have the hair on their hands and forearms singed or burned, it being a most serious *aitua* or evil omen; disaster lies before. I am doubtful as to whether this Puhi is identical with Puhi the eel god. Te Wheawheau is a most useful *atua* in war time—in order to weaken the enemy, as will be seen when we lift the trail of Tu in earnest. In regard to Te Wheawheau, an authority says, "An *atua*, a tree branchlet. It is carried by the priest and waved to and fro before (in front of) the enemy. It is thus used as a *rotu*, to weaken and unnerve the enemy. It is made effective by means of spells of magic." Pare-whakarunga belongs to the class known as *atua kihakihi*,† as also does the *Mangai-atua*.

Some of the early migrants to New Zealand are looked upon as gods. Irakewa, a descendant of Rakei-apu, with many others who came with him to this land from Mata-ora, and camped at Whakatanene, were thus exalted and became war gods. By their influence Ngati-Awa were enabled to defeat Te Whakatohea at O-potiki and expel Warahoe from the lands of O-tipa, at least so a descendant of Irakewa informs me.

\* This illustration is taken from Mr. White's "Ancient History of the Maori" (who copied it from Te Ika-a-Maui, without giving his authority)—Ed.

† Whose voices, as heard through the medium, have a hissing sound.

When the Arawa were about to attack Te Tumu *pa* in 1834, the *atua* Te Weka was despatched by his medium to observe the fort. When the *wai taua* ceremony was performed over the warriors, the god returned to the medium—Te Kahawai. This was an excellent omen, and of course the *pa* fell. Had the god not so returned the omen would have been a bad one. The gods Pare-houhou and Te Putapu are both represented to mortal eyes by *tahā* (a calabash). A star is the visible form of the *atua* Tama-i-waho, a leading god of the Whakatohea tribe.

The war god Te Rehu-o-Tainui was an *atua kahu*, as also was Awanui. The *atua kahu* is a malignant spirit, a cacodæmon, which is evolved from a still-born child. A woman of Maunga-pohatu, one Rehu-tu, gave birth to a still-born child which was named Hope-motu. Had a *tohunga* (priest) buried the fœtus with the appropriate rites and invocations, the evil spirit might have been laid. But it was not to be. This fœtus was destined to develop into a powerful war god, Te Rehu-o-Tainui, whose oracular utterances were to raise the fame of Tuhoe, from the eastern sea even unto the waters of Waikato. Uhia, of Tuhoe, became the medium of this *atua* by means of making an offering of conciliation (*whakawhere*) in the form of *porete* (parroquets). The form of incarnation (*aria*) of the *atua* was the green lizard (*moko-kakariki*). This war god had a most successful career, as we have shown. Uhia would at times take the lizard in his hand, where it would remain quietly. It often lay putting its tongue out from side to side, which was considered a good omen. At other times it would be found in one of the steam ovens when opened, and the food immediately around it would be quite raw still. This was an evil omen for the tribe.\*

The Whakatane clan, under Pawhero (he who hugged the fireside too long), located themselves on the Tahora block, where they were attacked and defeated by Ngai-Tu, the chief Pawhero being slain. The Whakatane returned and killed Te Hau-o-te-rangi's nephew. The Whakatohea marched on Korotahi and attacked the Whakatane clan, but were defeated, losing the chiefs Te Whatu-pe and Tamunuhiri. A party of Whakatohea and Whanau-a-Apanui, under Rua-moko and others, made another attack on Korotahi, but they fell by the wayside among thorns. The reason why the Whakatane were so successful was the excellence and power of their war god, one Papa by name. When Rua-moko became aware of this, he proceeded to conciliate and invoke his god Ruai-mokoroa. At a subsequent attack on the Whakatane fort, Rua-moko arranged that one party of the

\* For a full history of the development of Te Rehu-o-Tainui, see this JOURNAL, vol. vi, p. 41, by Mr. Best.—ED.

attacking force should slay the Whakatane priest, and another destroy his god, *i.e.*, the material representation of the god. This was done and of course the fort fell.

Kaka and Reko were the two *atua* of Whare-pakau, he who defeated the original people of Te Whaiti. The *aria* of the one was a lizard that of the other a *ruru* (a bird, the owl). They were the protectors of their medium who settled at Te Apū near Ahi-kereru.

A woman, one Maraea, was medium of the *atua kahu* Awanu which was the spirit of a still-born child of hers. She, as the medium of the *atua*, attended the two weeks' fighting at Te Tapiri and stood out in front of her people to urge them on, and, so I am informed, catching the bullets of the enemy in her hands.

Riki and Rura are modern *atua*. They were the gods of Te Kooti and of the Hauhau religion, and presided over the *niu* rite of the absurd ritual (not to be confused with the *niu* or divination). Riki was the *atua* of Te Ua, who brought the severed head of Capt. Lloy from Taranaki as a *tivha*, or token, to raise the tribes of the East Coast against the European settlers. Riki appears on the Hauhau flag of the Tuhoe tribe at Rua-tahuna as a black figure on a red ground. Riki and Rura were depicted in human form on white flags on the *niu* pole in Te Puhia-kapu, a *pa* built by Matiu, of Ngati-whare, at Te Whaiti, and where were performed the Hauhau rites which were to hold the tribal lands and confound the *Pakeha*. In the modern Hauhau *niu* the natives acted as if deranged, and repeated *karakia* of meaningless rubbish, containing many English words.

We read that the famous sword of Attila was looked upon as a god of war. In like manner some very famous weapons were regarded by the Maori as *atua*. A famous *taiaha*, Matua-kore by name, was such an one. It was very sacred (*tapu*) and was consulted as an oracle in war time. The omen was drawn from the appearance of the feathers which ornamented the weapon, if bright and vivid in color the omen was a good one, if it appeared pale, disaster was imminent.

The *matatuhi*, or seer, who is the medium of a god, is said to be *urua*, entered or possessed by the god when consulting that so-called divinity in quest of some augury of the future. A seer is often the medium of his own deified ancestors, who acquaint him of any coming troubles or dangers.

The material representation of an *atua* is often kept at the *tuāhau* or sacred place of the village, where it is consulted by the medium.

#### CLOTHING.

The clothing worn by warriors in battle in former days was conspicuous chiefly by its absence, excepting a kilt or apron, and in some cases the dogskin war cloak, or the *pauku* (syn. *pukupuku*).

\* See Gudgeon's "History of the Maoris."

Of these the *pauku* was the most important, inasmuch as it was used as a shield against spear thrusts and the impact of the *taverarero*, or throwing spear. The *pauku* was woven of the dressed fibre of the flax, and the *aho*, or cross threads, were so close together as to touch each other, in the same manner that a coloured ornamental border (*taniko*) is woven on to a cloak. This ornamental border was a feature of the *pauku*. Also a fringe of the hair of the ancient Maori dog was fastened to the lower hem. This fringe is termed *kurupatu*, and is often seen on a *korowai* cloak. The weaving of cloaks is always commenced at the lower end. These *pauku* were worn only by chiefs as a rule. Before engaging in battle these cloaks were placed in water, which caused the fibre to swell and thus form a close thick mass of fibre which is said to have been impervious to a spear thrust. Sometimes a chief would wear two of these cloaks so as to protect the whole of the body. A man so protected would often make himself useful by sallying forth in front and bearing off some of the enemy's spears, &c., being armed himself with a short weapon as a *patu* or *mere*.

The dog skin war cloak was known as *tapahu*. It was made by sewing whole skins together, there being no body or ground (*kaupapa*) of woven flax. It was also used as a preventative against spear thrusts. "*He tapahu o Irawaru*"\* was a saying applied to this garment.

On the war path a chief might wear any garments, such as a feather cloak, or *mahiti*, and the rank and file such cloaks as the *toi*, *pokeka*, or *mai*, i.e., rough shoulder capes. But in battle the ones aforementioned were usually the only garments worn. It was considered as hampering a man's actions if he went into battle muffled up (*puheki*) with clothing.

War belts were usually made of plaited strips of flax (*harakeke*) and sometimes was merely a single piece of green flax. The *tu* was a war belt or girdle to which was attached the *maro* or apron. The short weapon of the fighter would be stuck in this belt. The *kuaira* is said by Ngati-Awa to have been a war belt.

The *maro tukou* was the kind of apron usually worn by a priest when conducting rites. The *maro huka* was also a kind of apron used in war time. The lower end of the *maro* is drawn between the legs (*ka hurua te maro*) and fastened to the belt behind. Very often the term *maro* is applied to a few green branchlets with the leaves on, as worn during the performance of divers rites.

There was also a *karakia*, or invocation, called a *maro*, which was repeated by a warrior when engaged in putting on his war girdle. Probably the most famous *maro taua* is that known as *Te Maro o*

\* A cloak of Irawaru, who is the origin or personification of dogs.



*Whakatau*,\* which was recited by the hero Whakatau at the famed battle of Tai-paripari. A *maro taua* will be found at p. 221 “*Nga Moteatea, &c.*,” and another at p. 189 of Taylor’s “*Te Ika a Maui*,” a work which contains many interesting items concerning war.

When the warrior is arranging his *maro*, he repeats the above *karakia*. One such commences:—

“Homai taku maro kia hurua,  
Homai taku maro kia rawea  
Rawe ki maui, rawe ki matau.”  
    &c., &c.

Give me my girdle, to pass between the legs,  
Give me my girdle, to pass round the waist,  
Fasten to the left, fasten to the right.

When performing the war dance, no clothing was worn save a scanty *maro*, or something similar.

#### Food.

The principal article of food used when on the war trail was the *aruhe*, the root of a fern (*pteris aquilina*, var. *esculenta*). This root was dried, roasted and pounded, in order that the black, stringy fibres (*kaka*) might be disengaged from the meal. It was often formed into cakes (*komeke*) which were again roasted. The *aruhe* is said to be a most sustaining food, although scarcely palatable to Europeans. A saying for the fern root is, “*Te manawa nui o Whete*.”† Whete was an ancestor of the Mātātua people, and who, previous to going into battle, would eat two large *komeke*, which sustained his strength in such a manner that he was able to perform wondrous feats of valour and endurance. The prepared meal of the root was usually formed into a roll of six to ten inches in length. It was considered an evil omen to pound the *aruhe* at night. “*Kaua e patu i te aruhe i te po, he upoko tangata, he tohu aituā*.” Do not pound fern root at night, a human head (will be so struck), it is an evil omen.

In happening upon a camping place of a war or travelling party one could tell how many chiefs were with the party by noting the refuse of the *aruhe* upon the ground where a meal had been taken. The *aruhe* was more carefully prepared for chiefs, and contained less fibres to be rejected.

Another saying for the fern-root is, “*Ka ora karikari aruhe, ka mate takiri kaka*” the digger of fern-root has an abundance of food but the parrot snarer will go hungry. The saying—“*He manawa tina*”—a satisfied stomach also applies to the fern-root.

\* See this *maro* JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY vol. viii, p. 154.—ED.

† The sustaining food of Whete.

When going to war the food is carried by slaves or persons of low birth, and not by the chiefs or warriors. If a specially *tapu* expedition in quest of blood vengeance, probably warriors alone form the party, if so, any food they may carry must be carried in the left hand, the left side being the *noa* (*tapu-less*) side of man.

#### CANNIBALISM.

Of course cannibalism was common on the war trail, and human flesh was largely consumed by a party raiding an enemy's country.

A tradition asserts that the first cannibals were the sons of Rangi and Papa (see *ante*) who instituted the practice when fighting among themselves. This, however, would appear to refer to the eating of birds and fish, inasmuch as mankind, birds and fish are all descended from common ancestors.

In White's "Ancient History of the Maori" vol. 2, p. 64, Whitiri is stated to have been the first cannibal. Probably Kai-tangata should have been mentioned.

In eating the body of an enemy the Maori had no belief that he absorbed or retained any qualities of the eaten person, as bravery, &c. He would appear to have followed the custom for two reasons:—  
1. Because he was remarkably fond of human flesh as a food.  
2. Because the eating of an enemy degraded the victim and his descendants, thus appeasing the revengful feelings of the eater. It was a source of pure, unadulterated joy to the old time Maori, to be able to say to an enemy, "I ate your father" or "your ancestor," although the occurrence may have occurred ten generations before his time, yet he would probably speak in the first person singular.\*

Human bodies were cut up for cooking by means of flakes of obsidian, a core of such material being carried, and from which flakes were chipped off at will.

In the Taupo district women were not allowed to eat human flesh, but I have never heard that this law obtained in any other district. Women, however, were not allowed to eat of the *ika tapu*, i.e., the human sacrifice, for the more important rites.

The bodies of relatives slain in fight were not eaten, but if it happened to be a serious quarrel the heart would be taken out, roasted and merely applied to the lips. The *karakia* known as *Mākaka* will then be repeated over the body, or the heart thereof, to render the body *tapu*, so that it may not be eaten. The heart and body are then buried. Exceptions to the above rule are noted in history, as when

\* We may add another reason: It was an excellent title to land. If one ate the owner of a property, naturally the title followed—it was the Land Transfer title of the Maori.—ED.

Tuhoe-potiki quarrelled with and fought his brother Ue-imua, at Owihakatoro. The dispute was over a cultivation at Tapui-taru (or Taru-pua) and Ue said that he would eat Tuhoe's heart. The latter replied—"Wait until to-morrow. If you slay me, then shall my heart be your food; but if I kill you, then will I eat yours." The next day Tuhoe and Tane-moe-ahi slew Ue, whose heart Tuhoe cut out cooked and ate, thus illustrating the triumph of the spirit of revenge over brotherly love.

The most horrible form of cannibalism, however, was that known as *kai pirau*, i.e. the eating of the decomposed bodies of enemies. This ghoulish act generally originated in the intense desire for revenge felt by the old time Maori, to whom a lightly spoken word or slighting expression was necessarily followed by blood vengeance, and probably by a blood feud lasting for generations. This subject will be illustrated under the heading of revenge.

When on a foray into hostile country, the Maori war party practically lived on the enemy. Such prisoners as were taken would be made to carry the flesh of their slain relatives on their backs, to serve as food for their captors. Also they would probably have to carry the dried heads of such of their chiefs as had fallen.

When Nga-Puhi obtained guns and raided down the West Coast to Wellington, they slew great numbers of the natives of those parts and also took many prisoners. After a battle they would remain feasting upon the bodies of the dead so long as possible, and then move on further to repeat the process. They formed two large camps at Te Aro and Pipitea, where the town of Wellington now stands. Here they remained for some time, having suffered a reverse at the hands of Ngati-Ira of that district. Food ran short, but they supplied the want by slaying scores of their hapless prisoners.\* Again, when the same party took a *pa* (fortified village) on the banks of the Heretaunga (Hutt) river, they slew many of the occupants. The flesh was cut from many of the bodies of the slain and preserved in the fat thereof. This was for future use. The bones were burned to keep them from being found and taken by the enemy. But previous to the burning, the arm and leg bones were broken and the marrow extracted by means of fern stalks and eaten.

Many prisoners taken by the above expedition escaped, but numbers were taken back north, where they were slain by relatives of those of the expedition who had been killed in fight. All such bodies were eaten.

When the famous tribal league besieged the fort of Kai-uku at Nukutaurua, the besieged were reduced to eating their children in order to preserve life.

\* See this JOURNAL, vol. viii, p. 221.—Ed.

Place names often originated in circumstances pertaining to cannibal orgies. When Te Piki, of the fighting Whakatohea, raided Rua-tahuna four generations ago, he and many of his merry men were killed by Tuhoe at Tatahoata. The body of Te Piki was carried across the range to the old *pa* on the bank of the Waihui river, near Oputao. When descending into the Rua-tahuna stream at Te Maioro, the carriers cast the body down, and rolled it down the steep descent to the creek. Hence that place has ever since been known as Te Whakatakanga o Te Piki—the throwing down of Te Piki. The body was then taken to the village on the cliff head, where a large oven was made in which it was cooked. Even so the place was named Te Umu o Te Piki (the oven of Te Piki) which it bears to this day.

To trespass on the bird or rat preserves was often the cause of cannibal feasts. When Ngati-Mahanga went snaring the Kakapo at Te Whakatangata, they were attacked, slain, cooked and eaten by Tuhoe, who claimed that land. Again, the large *manuka* trees at Heipipi were much prized in former times, the bark being used for roofing huts, the timber was used to make weapons of. Any outsiders attempting to take bark from those trees were at once served up on Tuhoean platters. A similar fate overtook Te Karaha, of Ngati-Whare, when he trespassed on the lands of Tuhoe at Tara-pounamu, to snare birds. When caught he was tied to a *rata* tree at a place since known as Te Hereherenga.

A genial and humorous gentleman, one Tamatea, of Ngati-Ha, resided on the summit of Tara-pounamu some ten generations ago. When short of food he used to raid down on his neighbours in a most impartial manner. He would descend on Rua-tahuna to the east and slay a resident thereof, and next time would turn his steps westward and requisition a member of Ngati-Whare, at Te Whaiti. Hence he was known as Tamatea-kai-taharua (Tamatea who eats both sides). He showed nothing of the bias and narrow-mindedness so common in modern times.

The last cannibal feast in the Arawa country is said to have been at Okahu, Roto-iti, where Ngati-Pukeko defeated Ngai-Te-Rangi. Ngati-Awa state that the last in their vicinity was when the fighting took place over Te Waka-unua of Ngati-Hineuru, who was killed by a war party of Waikato at Tarawera. Ngati-Hineuru, Ngati-Kahungunu and Taupo then assaulted and took the Waikato *pa* O-maku-kara to avenge Te Waka-unua. Pio, an old man of Ngati-Awa, who is still living, was at the Waitaha-nui *pa* (Taupo) and saw the Waikato on their raid. Pio says: "Man eating ceased with those fights. Christianity was gaining ground, and the desire for war was waning among the Maori people."



The last cannibal feast in Tuhoe-land is said to have been after the battle of Te Kauna, where Ngati-Awa were defeated by Tuhoe. This was a modern fight, where for the first time Tuhoe used their newly acquired guns. Most of Tuhoe were living in the Tawai, Toke, Mānate-pa and other stockaded villages on the Mana-o-rongo stream. A runner came in with the word that Ngati-Awa were marching on Rua-tahuna. Tuhoe worked all night making cartridges, and lifted the trail as soon as a man's knees could be seen. They met Ngati-Awa at Te Kauna, where a desperate fight took place, in which Ngati-Awa were defeated, losing many slain. The survivors fled to Whakātane. Tuhoe then proceeded to collect all the bodies of the slain Ngati-Awa into a heap. As they dragged up the body of Te Hema, they chanted this *ngeri* (song of derision)—“*Ka hua au ki te tangata nei, ki a Te Hema, he tangata pai—Kaore, he kurumetometo.*” (I thought this person, Te Hema, was a fine man. Not so, he is miserable thing.)\* And so on with each body dragged up. Then Tuhoe indulged in a royal feast. Titirahi, one of the slain chiefs of Ngati-Awa, being extremely *tapu*, his body was not eaten. It was, however, cooked in an earth oven made near the *paepae*, where it still lies. The clothing was not taken off. Te Au-ki-hingarae of Tuhoe said—“Give me my *tama-a-hara* (deadly enemy) that I may eat him.” But the priest said—“Not so! The body belongs to the gods.”

This fight took place in the thirties. Puihi, now living at Ruatoki saw bodies of Ngati-Awa being carried to Rua-tahuna, there to be eaten. Ngati-Manawa of Galatea sent messengers to Rua-tahuna to ask for one of the bodies. It was given to them, carried back to their home and there cooked and eaten.

The revenge taken by Ngati-Awa for Te Kauna assumed the form of a *kai-oraora* or cursing song, directed against Tuhoe, and in which occurred the words—“*Kia horo matutia a Te Hokotahi*”—may Te Hokotahi (a chief of Tuhoe) be swallowed raw. Hence Paoro Pukaha, of Tuhoe, took the name of Horo-mata, in commemoration of the incident.

An old woman of Ngati-Manawa, who accompanied the war party which went from Te Whaiti to attack the Wairoa people, told me that her mother and another woman was taken prisoner at the Rangi-houa fight, by the Wairoa natives. They tried to escape but were pursued, caught and slain. One, Wharepa, of the Wairoa, threw his cloak over the two bodies and thus saved them from being eaten. The Rangi-houa fight occurred some time prior to 1835.

Several old men now living in this district have been cannibals in the days of their youth.

\* Kuru-metometo, is a plebeian, according to my authority.—ED.

White men have occasionally been eaten, but, sad to state, their flesh was not appreciated by the Maori.

#### WOMEN IN WAR.

Women often accompanied a war party and took part in the fighting, and there were some veritable amazons among them. Cases are on record in which women alone have fought and oft'times defeated an enemy. Judge Wilson gives, in "Ancient Maori Life and History," an interesting account of how a band of Ngati-Pukeko women, aided by only thirty-seven men, defeated the Ngati-Manawa tribe in battle at Manga-tara. "The amazons displayed a wonderful courage and knowledge of the art of war. With hair cropped short and bodies nude they charged into the enemy with such force as to throw them into confusion. Moenga specially distinguished herself, she fought with a *paiaka*, hewing down the enemy on all sides."

It is said that the women were more vindictive than the men, which may be accepted as the truth, when we note the many virulent *kai-oraora* composed by women. Many women were adepts at wrestling, and they are able to carry loads of a great weight on their backs. At least two women are still living in the Galatea district who took part in old intertribal fights prior to the acquisition of guns. Ripeka, at Galatea, and Meri, at Te Whaiti, both accompanied the expedition of Ngati-Whare and Tuhoe which was defeated by the Wairoa tribes at Rangihoua. This fight occurred prior to the fall of Mokoia, in 1823.

Women accompanied Tuhoe when they went north and fought the troops at O-rakau; Te Mauniko, a daughter of the high chief, Te Whenua-nui, being among them. Several of the women were killed during the siege. In such situations women are noted for their energy and vigour in inciting the fighting men to fierce efforts.

During the long marches made by the rebel natives under Te Kooti and others, throughout the fighting, the hurried retreats, the privations, hunger, cold, and disasters, the women ever marched with the Hauhau forces, no matter what sufferings had to be endured. They toiled, month after month, over the ghastly mountain country, laden with heavy swags, starved, half naked, often amid the snows of Huiaarau, and the bitter winter storms of the ranges. Kura-wha, of the turbulent Ngati-Huri, shouldered a gun and took part in the ghastly massacre at Mohaka.

(To be continued.)



## MANAIA.

BY EDWARD TREGEAR, PRESIDENT OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

IN Mr. Hamilton's admirable book on "Maori Art" he several times makes reference to the word *manaia*. He does so in two senses. The first is applied to snake-like figures in wood-carving. On page 150 he says: "Possibly these *manaia*s may have been considered as representations of lizards"—adding in a foot-note, "In Samoa *manaia* is the name of a lizard." Again, on page 158, he observes, "In the large spirals or *manaia*s on the lower part of the *maihi*s a distinct serpent's head is shown on the end of the principal line. This is not always found, although the spiral serpent form is an integral part of the design or pattern on all the *maihi*s for store-houses in the northern part of New Zealand." In regard to this meaning of the word, I am strongly inclined to lean to Mr. Hamilton's opinion as to the serpent origin of the spirals; lizard and snake are such very convertible terms in myth and language. My only doubt arises from the fact that I have been informed that in the South Island the little marine fish known as the sea-horse (hippocampus—



The *Manaia*, called KOROEPE

ordinary Maori name *kiore-moana*) is called *manaia*. The hippocampus itself, dried, was often worn as an ornament by the natives, and some times was copied in bone or other material. Its head and curves, if highly conventionalized, might possibly resemble one of these snake-forms, also called *manaia*.

It is the secondary meaning referred to by Mr. Hamilton which causes me to indite this paper. In a list of words connected with ornaments (page 318) he writes:

"*Manaia*, a carved ivory circular ear-pendant. The eagle-headed serpent (very rare)." So rare are they that I only know of one, that in the possession of Mr. W. Skinner, a Secretary of the Polynesian Society.\* I should think that this specimen was absolutely decisive as to "snake" but for a doubt connected with philology. I fancy that the word is really Hawaiian, and, like several other words, is an adoption by the New Zealand Maori. My reason for thinking so is as follows :—

An ornament or pendant in the shape of a fish-hook and called a "hook" (*matau*) was a very common neck-decoration of the old Maori. Mr. Hamilton, speaking on this subject, says of one of these, figured in his plates: "The specimen is in the British Museum, and although it has the general form of the hook-like ornaments, yet each extremity is carved into the form of a human figure. The *matau* pendant is found in a variety of forms, and possibly is intended for a representation of the famous hook with which Maui fished up the great *ika* of New Zealand." Wonderfully shrewd is Mr. Hamilton's remark, for Hawaii, like New Zealand, was fished up from the abyss, and the name of Maui's great hook in Hawaii is *Manaiakalana*.

Either the *Kalana* here is a personal name or it has some other meaning. As it is in this case part of the Maui legend, it is probably a portion of his full name, *Mauiakalana*. In Hawaiian mythology *Kalana* (in Maori letters *Taranga*) was Eden or Paradise, the home of our first parents; *Kalana-i-Hauola*, "Taranga of the life-giving dew,"† wherein "the Water of Life of Tane" flowed. As a personal name *Kalana* has been best known as that of the father of Maui. It is true that in Hawaiian genealogy it is written *Akalana*,‡ but this is evidently a grammatical error, for in the same pedigree the name of Maui is written *Mauiakalana*—i.e., Maui (son) of *Taranga*; just as we say in Maori, *Maui-Tikitiki-a-Taranga*, from the story of Maui having been carried in the top-knot (*tiki-tiki*) of *Taranga*, his mother. I may add that in Samoa Maui is known as *Maui-Ti'i-ti'i*, so that the New Zealand version of the story is not singular.§ John White in his "Ancient History of the Maori," vol. II., p. 63, gives three separate versions of the Maui legend, in which *Taranga* is called the father, and not the mother, of Maui.

\* Mr. Skinner owns the best specimen that we know of, but it is not the only one in existence. There are three others—one of *pounamu*, two of bone—known to us. Mr. Hamilton is probably right in calling it a *manaia*, but its proper name is a *koropepe*.—ED.

† Fornander gives this as the Hawaiian translation, but the Maori meaning is better, viz., "Taranga of the Spirit of Life."—E. T.

‡ See Fornander's "The Polynesian Race," vol. I., 191.

§ He is known as *Maui-Tikitiki* in *Niue* also, but *tikitiki* has there a different meaning.—ED.



If *Kalana* is not a personal name but a compound word it may probably be dissected as follows:—*Ka* is the definite article “the,” but it also means “of; belonging to.” *Lana* is “floating; buoyant” (*lanalana*, to make light, buoyant; to cause to float). It is related to the Maori *ranga* to raise, to pull up, to pull up by the roots, and *maranga* to rise up, Samoan *laga* to raise up as a heavy weight, Mangarevan *raga* to float on the surface of water, Niuē *laga* to raise up.

Now for the other part of the name of Maui’s great hook—viz., *Manaia*. In Hawaiian the latter *n* is written both for the Maori *n* and *ng*, as in *kana* for our *tana*; *lanā* for our *ranga*. We find in Hawaiian *mana* meaning “supernatural power; glory; majesty,” &c.; certainly identical with the Maori *mana*, authority, prestige, &c. But the Hawaiian *mana* has several other meanings—(2) a branch or limb of a tree; (3) a kind of fish-hook. These two latter meanings evidently represent the Maori *manga*, a branch of a tree or of a river. The same meaning of “a branch; a fork; divided,” and so on, may be found as translations of *maga* in Samoan, Marquesan, Mangarevan, &c.; even in the Sulu dialect of Malay. From this idea of a fork or branch in the shape of a letter Y has come the other meaning of “fish-hook,” so that we also find that *maga* in Samoan is “the curved or hooked part of an artificial fly-hook.” In the South Island of New Zealand, where *k* replaces the northern *ng*, we have the word *maka*, a fish-hook. Thus Wohlers, writing in the Murihiku dialect, says, “*Ko te kauae o tona tupuna te maka i a Maui.*” “The jawbone of his ancestor was the fish-hook of Maui.” (Transactions N.Z. Inst. vol. II., 39.) Thus it seems certain that the Hawaiian word *mana*, a fish-hook, is our *manga*. Beside the *mana* in the name of Maui’s fish-hook *manaia*, we have another syllable *ia*. This is the Hawaiian word for “fish,” and (as the Hawaiians drop the true *k* regularly) it is the Maori *ika*, a fish.\* So that *manuia* is *manga-ika*; absolutely and literally “fish-hook.”

The full translation, then, of the name of Maui’s hook is “Fish-hook of Eden” or “Fish-hook-of-Taranga” (literally “Hook-fish-Taranga”) as an allusion to Maui’s parental name; or else it means “Fish-hook of the Floating” or “Fish-hook of the Raising up”—either of which is appropriate to the hauling up of the islands from the abyss.

If Mr. Hamilton’s “carved ivory circular ear-pendant” is a *manaia* it is possible that the ornament had its origin in the *matau* hook; perhaps this latter extended till the ends met in a circle. Mr. Hamilton him-

(\* The Hawaiian *k* represents the Maori *t*.)

self (Trans. N.Z. Inst., vol. XXV., p. 491), has noted that Hawaiians wear hook-shaped ornaments, and quotes "Cook's Third Voyage." "The Hawaiians fix on their necklaces a small bit of wood or stone, or shell about 2in. long, with a broad hook turning forwards at its lowest part," well polished."

This explanation of *manaia* as a fish-hook does not touch Mr. Skinner's *manaia*, the coiled snake carved in stone, unless the point of the hook has been prolonged exceedingly and carried round and round in a spiral, which is most unlikely, and does not account for the peculiar head. My impression is that *manaia* is a Maori word, but that its meanings have come from two different localities of the Pacific—one (Samoan) "lizard" or "snake;" the other (Hawaiian) "fish-hook."



## NIUĒ ISLAND, AND ITS PEOPLE.

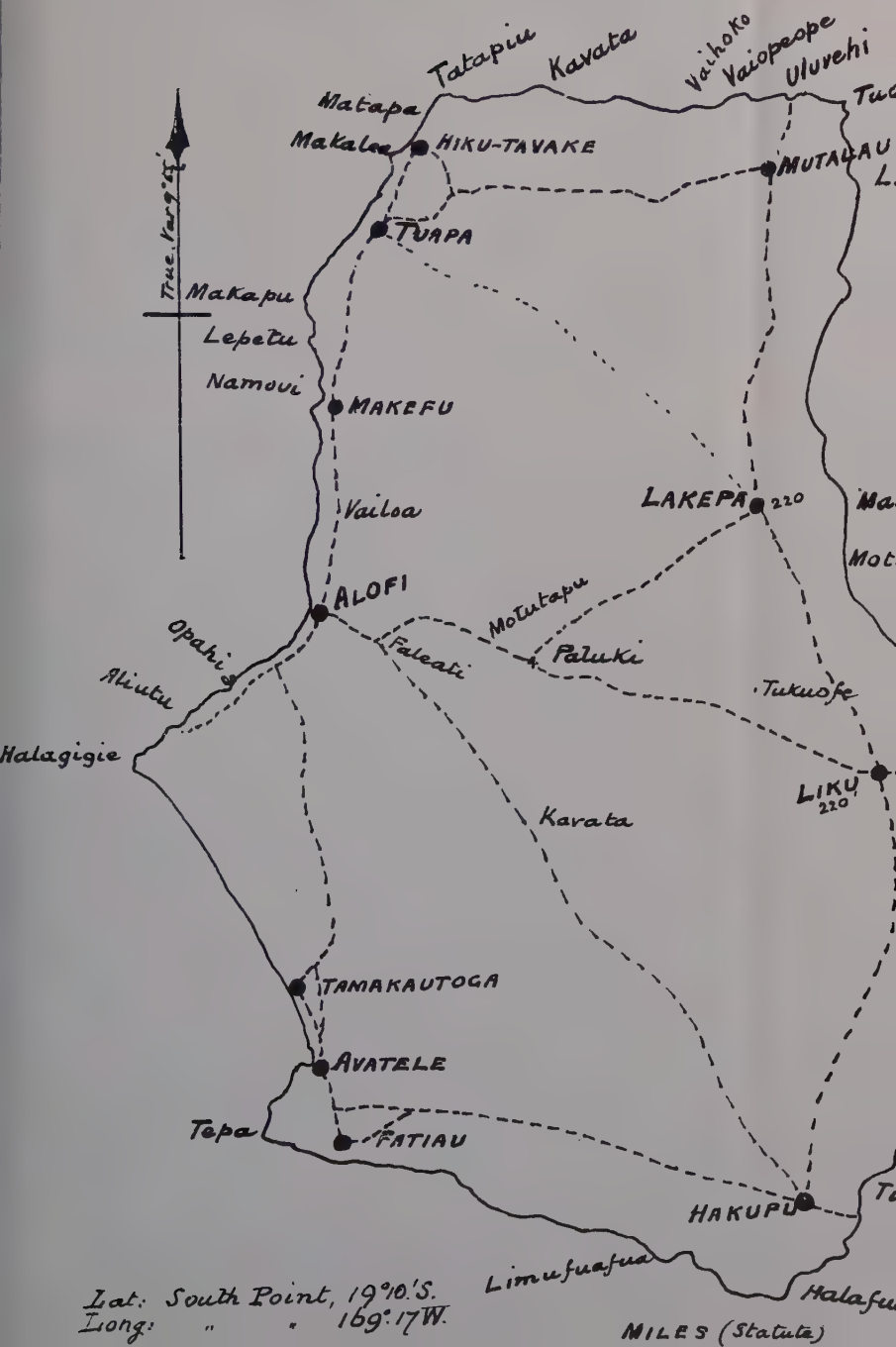
BY S. PERCY SMITH.

### PART I.

BY way of preface, I may say that I resided on Niuē Island in 1901 for nearly four months, having gone there at the request of His Excellency the Earl of Ranfurly, Governor of New Zealand, to introduce a form of government somewhat more consonant with British ideas than the existing one, a proceeding which was rendered necessary by the annexation of this and many other islands to New Zealand under a Proclamation made by H.R.H. the Duke of Cornwall and York at Auckland on the 11th June, 1901. The position I occupied during my visit, as Government Resident, put me in a favourable position to obtain information from the natives, but although possessing a fair knowledge of several of the dialects of the great Polynesian language, that of Niuē is so divergent from the others that it took me some time to acquire a sufficient knowledge of it to enter freely into communication with the natives. Hence the sketchy nature of many of the notes I have preserved. I am very greatly indebted to my friend the Rev. F. E. Lawes for a large amount of matter contained in the notes to follow; but for his knowledge of the language and the people, I should have acquired but little matter relating to their customs. So soon as I could speak freely to the chiefs in their own language and they found that I was interested in their history, &c., I began to find that there was a great deal of interesting information to be obtained, but my early departure prevented my availing myself fully of this. It is to be hoped that my successor as Resident, on acquiring the language, will make use of his exceptional opportunities of recording as much as possible of the history and beliefs of this people, before the day is past for so doing.

# NIE-FEKAI

From the Admiralty chart







On the whole, the history of the people obtained is unsatisfactory, for the Niuē people differ very much from most branches of the race, in that they have few historical traditions, and, what is really very strange in a branch of the Polynesian race, no genealogies of consequence, and hence there is lacking the means of fixing chronologically the events which will be described. I have entered at some length into the description of the fauna and flora of the Island, having taken special care to obtain the correct native names. Failing traditions, I look on these names, when compared with those in other islands, as affording the surest way to discover the origin of the people. And, moreover, though many of the notes herein printed may not have much interest at the present day, the time will come when the descendants of the present inhabitants of Niuē will be glad to have even the little that I have gathered about their forefathers.

#### THE ISLAND : GEOGRAPHICAL AND PHYSICAL.

Niuē is the common name by which the Island is known to the people themselves and to those of the adjacent groups, but its proper modern name is Niuē-fekai, used on formal occasions, in songs, &c. The origin of this name will be given later on. In the meantime it may be mentioned that it has a probable connection with those of other islands in the Western Pacific, such as Niuā in the New Hebrides, Niua-fou north of the Tongan Group, and Niuā-taputapu, Keppel Island.\* It is somewhat remarkable how difficult to English tongues is the pronunciation of this name, and how often it is misspelt. It is pronounced in English letters "neeooway," with a strong accent on the "way." But this was not the original name of the island. Apparently its earliest name was Nuku-tu-taha, which was given by Huanaki, one of its earliest discoverers, from the fact of its being a solitary island, not one of a group, *nuku* being a very common Polynesian name for an island, or land, whilst *tu* is to stand, *taha* (Maori *tahi*) singly; one, &c. If, as is probable, the original discoverers came from the groups to the west, this would be an appropriate name to apply, as distinguishing it from the many-isled groups to which they were accustomed. Another old name of the island is Motu-te-fua, to which the natives now attach the meaning of sterile (*tufua*), but as there is a fairly strong accent on the *te*, this is probably the old Polynesian negative not now used by the Niuē people, and might perhaps be translated by "the island without fruit, or offspring." A fourth name of the island is Fakahoa-motu, which again the natives

\* The letters *a* and *e* are constantly interchangeable in the Polynesian language. It was stated to me that *fekai* should really be *faikai*, food-possessing, but this requires confirmation. The word *fekai* is lost in the Niuē dialect, but in Tonga and Samoa—which are the dialects most akin to that of Niuē—it means "fierce."

do not appear to be able to explain, beyond saying that it means that one of the original discoverers helped the other, any more than they can that of Nuku-tuluea, its fifth name. All these old names have gone out of use, except in song and on very formal occasions, being replaced by Niuē. It is perhaps needless to add that the most modern name is Savage Island, given to it by Captain Cook when he discovered\* it in 1774—a name the natives do not like, for they feel it to be not appropriate in their present condition, and say that Captain Cook by applying this name gave them an unnecessarily bad reputation, for they never injured any of his crew, but merely made a demonstration to prevent his landing, fearing he would introduce disease amongst them.

The north end of the island has a general name, Mata-fonua (the front of the land), as has the south end, Mui-fonua (Muri-whenua in Maori, Muli-fanua in Samoa—meaning the “land’s end”—in both of which countries the names are found—in New Zealand at the North Cape, in Samoa at the western end of Upolu Island. If my recollection serves me right, the east end of Rarotonga is also called Muri-enua). In addition to the above names, the north end of the island is called Ulu-lauta and the south end Hiku-lauta.

The sketch map accompanying this paper is taken from the Admiralty chart, to which I have added the names, villages, tracks, &c. The notice of the Hydrographer Royal should be drawn to the shape of the south-east end of the island, which is apparently a good deal out of position, and requires rectification.

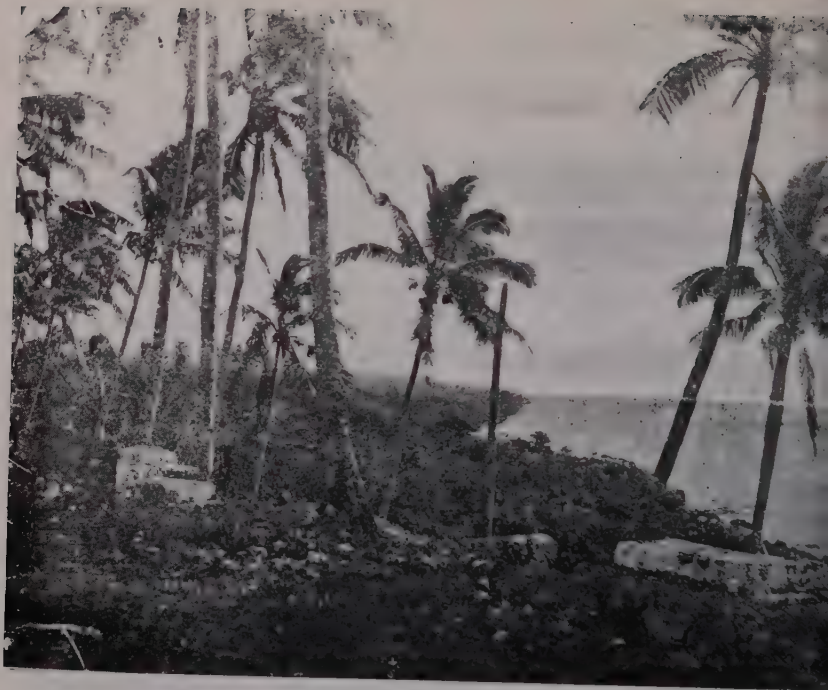
The south point of Niuē is situated in south latitude  $19^{\circ} 10'$ , west longitude  $169^{\circ} 17'$ . The nearest land is Vavau, of the Tonga group, distant nearly west 240 miles. Tongatapu Island is distant S.S.W. about 300 miles, and Tutuila, of the Samoa group, N. by W. 270 miles. To the east Palmerston Island is the nearest land, about 360 miles E. by N., all directions given being true.

The island is about 40 miles in circumference, the extremes of length and breadth being about 17 and 11 statute miles respectively, whilst its average height above sea level is about 220 feet. It belongs to that class termed a “raised coral island,” and has a fringing reef (*uluulu*) quite close to the shore, the width of which is about 60 to 80 yards. Intersecting this reef in numerous places are narrow—and often deep—chasms (*ava*) which, under ordinary circumstances, afford good landing places, at any rate on the leeward side, which is toward the west. On the east side, where the prevailing E.S.E. trade wind blow home for eight months out of the twelve, landing is extremely difficult, if not impossible.

\* That is—discovered it, so far as Europeans are concerned. Of course, the Polynesians had discovered and occupied it ages before Captain Cook.







1. NIUE.—COASTLINE WESTWARDS FROM ALOFI BAY, THE CAPITAL.



2. NIUE.—MATAPA CHASM.

The island has been raised by several efforts of the subterranean forces, as is plainly visible in the terraces which surround its shores. These elevations have been unequal in character and extent, and practically may be reduced to two.\* The earliest caused the central part of the island to rise about 130 feet, and thus it remained for ages, the wide terrace on which most of the villages now stand, being at that time the encircling or fringing reef. The other great elevation raised the island a further height of about 80 to 90 feet, since which time little change appears to have taken place beyond the eating of the surf into the cliffs of coral. There are indications here and there that the island was once an atoll, with probably a very shallow lagoon, now shown by the brown reddish earth of the centre of the island, which is formed of very much decomposed coral rock. This reddish earth is a feature of other raised coral islands, as noticed by both Darwin and Dana. Where not occupied by this reddish earth, the surface of the island is extremely rocky, the grey weathered surface of the coral showing in fantastic rugged masses, that makes travelling off the paths very difficult indeed. The island may be likened to an inverted soup-plate, in which the rounded edge represents the lower terrace, the rim the old margin of the lagoon, and the bottom the level or undulating surface of the old lagoon. Coral (*feo*) is the only rock to be found on the island—there is no sign of any volcanic rock whatever. It decomposes into a fertile soil in the hollows of the rocks, more so than the reddish earth, which is not so rich but yet often supports a dense vegetation.

The second elevation of the island appears to have been of a more sudden character than the first, for it was probably during that period that the series of longitudinal chasms were formed that so frequently are found at the foot of the higher terrace—the old shore line, in fact, before the second elevation. Some of these chasms are very picturesque, overhung as they are by the rich vegetation of the tropics, and frequently containing pools of water in the bottoms, which serve as the water supply of the people. A particularly picturesque spot is Matapa, where the chasm that runs along a considerable length of the east side of the island (here and there) runs out to sea.† It appears as if the lower terrace had fractured, with a tendency to split off, leaving these chasms to mark the points of weakness. It is along this lower terrace—which may average about one-third of a mile in width—that six out of the eleven villages are situated, all shaded by coco-nut groves, and presenting a very pretty appearance with the gleaming white coral houses of the natives showing amongst the dark green foliage.

\* The terraced formation may be seen, though not distinctly, in Plate No. 1.

† See Plate No. 2.

The island is so rocky that cultivation, in the ordinary sense of the word, is extremely difficult; and yet the natives, by hard labour, produce from the soil abundance of food, of which the *talo* is the most plentiful, and is most excellent of its kind. It is extraordinary to see how well this plant, together with bananas (*futi*) and other food plants, flourish amongst the rocks in places where it would generally be deemed impossible to grow anything. In the interior parts where the reddish earth prevails, certain kinds of food are also grown, such as sugar-cane, *talo*, &c., but the soil is generally not nearly so productive here. All over the interior the coral rock crops up here and there, even amidst the reddish soil, and often the finest trees on the island grows where there is most coral rock. It is difficult to get a view of any extent in the interior owing to the vegetation, and it was not until after much searching we found a place from which to take a photograph. Here an extent of about five miles was seen, and as in all other parts, there was no elevation visible above the general surface of more than 25 feet. The whole interior plateau is, in fact, a very gently undulating plain, from which the edges slope off somewhat steeply on all sides to the lower terrace. The edge of this plateau, or upper terrace, is about three-quarters of a mile distant from the sea.

It may be said that the whole island is covered by forest, although there are places here and there where the vegetation degenerates into scrub. But these places have apparently been burnt and cultivated in former times, and the forests destroyed. The general name for the inland parts is *tafagafaga*\* or *vao*, whilst the second growth of forest is called *koukou-motua*, and the wild native forest *vao-motua*.

From what has been stated above as to the source of the water supply, it will be understood that fresh water is scarce. The sole reliance of the islanders in this respect is upon the pools of water in the caverns (*ana*, or *aloalo*), for there is no such thing as a running stream in the island. The water is often deep below the surface and has to be hauled up by lines, but usually the supply is to be obtained not much below the level of the land. Many of the caverns contain brackish (*māē*) water (*vai*)† which rises to a level of 60 to 70 feet above the sea level, and is affected by the tides at that height—such water is used for washing, bathing, and sometimes (in dry seasons) for drinking. It follows from this scarcity of water that the variety of

\* It is as well to explain here that the Niuē "g" has always an "n" before it. Thus *tafagafaga* is pronounced *tafangafanga* (cf. Maori *tawhangawhanga* and *whanga*, a district, place, space, also the big ocean rollers).

† *Vai* or *wai* is the common word for water wherever the Polynesian language is spoken, but the Maoris distinguish fresh water as *wai-maori*, or common water. The Niuē people have no such word as *maori* (native, common, in the ordinary manner) in their dialect, though it is found in several others.



*talo* grown in the island is of the kind that requires little moisture, unlike the *taro* of Eastern Polynesia, which requires periodical floodings with water. The Niuē *talo* is the best, to my mind, grown in the Pacific. The people depend largely on the milk of the cocoanut for drinking.

# VILLAGES, POPULATION, &c.

It has already been stated that six of the villages are situated on the lower terrace of the island. There are eleven villages in all, as will be seen from the following table. The numbers of the population are as supplied by the Rev. F. E. Lawes, from data obtained in 1899 :

	Population
ALOFI, on the west side of the island .. ..	719
ALOFI .. .. (students)	49
TAMAKAUTOGA .. ..	275
AVATELE .. ..	401
FATIAU, on the south-west side of the island .. ..	104
HAKUPU, on the south-east .. ..	456
LIKU, on the west .. ..	383
LAKEPA (or TAMALAGAU), on the west side of the island ..	234
MUTALAU, on the north-west .. ..	524
HIKUTAVAKE (and TAMAHATOKULA) on the north-west side of the island .. ..	248
TUAPA (or UHOMOTU), on the west side of the island ..	426
MAKEFU .. ..	196
Absent at the guano and other islands .. ..	561
Total .. ..	<u>4576</u>

To these may be added—at the time of my visit—nineteen Europeans.

Of these villages, Alofi is the capital, in the sense that the Government Resident has his office here, and it is also the residence of the Missionary and site of the higher school in which the students are trained for the mission service in New Guinea and other islands. From its position, on the leeward side of the island, and being about mid-distant between the N.W. and S.W. points, Alofi is also the surest anchorage. Avatele is the next best anchorage and landing. Vessels sometimes anchor off Tuapa, which is the residence of the Patu-iki or so-called King. Whenever it may be necessary to ship cargo from the other villages, vessels lie off and on.

The Niuē villages (*māga*), like all those in the islands of Eastern Polynesia which are under the spiritual care of the London Mission Society, are substantially built and very picturesque. The houses (*fale*) are formed of lath and plaster, for which purpose the coral makes excellent lime (*puga*), with roofs thatched with pandanus leaf (*lau fa*) or sugar cane (*lau to*). They are oblong in shape, and present a very pretty appearance amongst the deep green vegetation, and are over-



shadowed by tall coco-nut trees.\* These houses are, of course, modern in design; the old native house of coco-nut (*niu*) leaves, oblong in shape, with projections at each end under the gable, are still to be seen occasionally, and especially away from the villages where the houses of the people now are. A Niuē village occupies a considerable space, for the houses are usually separated one from the other by intervals. Many have neat enclosures (*kaina*) with a few favourite sweet-scented or flowering plants growing about, amongst which the gardenia (*tiale*) and the Frangipani are frequent, whilst the scarlet hibiscus (*kaute*, the single or male flower; *kaute-fifine*, the double or female flower) is often seen, but perhaps more often near the graves. The village of Alofi is about one-and-a-half miles long, the houses scattered along the main road. In each village there is a substantial lath and plaster or solid stone chapel, a school-house, and the teacher's residence—always the most important house in the place. Near the chapel is usually to be found the *malē*, an open grassy space where the people assemble and young Niuē plays cricket. The native grass (*motietie*; *matietie* in other islands) a species of twitch, forms a smooth sward—it is common to all the islands of Polynesia proper I have visited. It will be noticed here that the *malē*, or plaza, is similar to the Maori *marae* and Samoan and Tongan *malae*, but quite different to the Tahitian *marae*, which was a pyramidal structure of stone used for religious purposes.

The cultivations (*māla*) of the people are generally situated away from the villages, often considerable distances. They are usually in newly-cleared land, and it is through this process of clearing that a good deal of the island is now in scrub, or a second growth of wood. The people pass most of their time away in the *vao*, or wilds, getting food, so that during the day few people are seen about the villages. They may be met each evening returning to their homes with all kinds of food carried on a pole over the shoulder (*hahamo*), just like the Chinese method—this is the Eastern Polynesian custom also, but not that of the Maori.

It is apparent from a document written for me by Mohelagi, a chief of Alofi, and which will be found in Part III. hereof, that each village has a "saying" with reference to it—such as we apply to some of our towns, for example, "the Imperial City," "the Eternal City," and "the Empire City," &c., &c. This is a Samoan custom and is, if I remember, called *Fale-upōlu*, at any rate so far as the island of Upōlu is concerned.

#### ROADS, TRACKS, &c.

Considering the very rocky nature of the island, the people are deserving of praise for the main road round the island, which passes

\* Plate 3 gives a good idea of what all the villages are like.



3.--NIUE.—ALOFI VILLAGE. SOUTH.



4.—NIUE.—IN THE VAS-MOTUA; KAFIKA AND MAOTA TREES.



through eight of the eleven villages. Its length is between 35 and 38 miles, and is suitable for wheeled traffic except in two places where it ascends from the lower terrace to the plateau. The greater part of its length is under the shade of the forest, either of coco-nut or the *vao-motua*, and is therefore pleasant to travel in hot weather. Occasionally it is very pretty. As a rule this main road (*hala-tu*) runs very direct from point to point, a remark which equally applies to the minor tracks (*hala*, or *puhala*). These latter are all available for horse traffic, but are frequently exceeding rocky. There are horse tracks of this nature leading into Alofi from Hakupu, Liku, and Lakepa. It is said they follow the old war trails used by the *kai-tau*, or war parties, of former days. The track from Alofi to Liku has been converted into a carriage-way for three-fourths of its length by the energy of the Liku people. It passes the old settlement (*māya*) of Palūki, which appears at one time to have been the residence of the kings, and is often mentioned in the songs. There are but two vehicles (a buggy and a cart) on the island, but horses are numerous—very sorry steeds generally speaking, which have mostly been introduced from Tonga. Roads are made by the combined efforts of the different villages, but in modern times offenders against the law are required to work out their sentences on the roads.

#### VEGETATION (TREES=*akau*, SHRUBS=*lakau*).

Situated as the island is, within the Tropics, it is natural to find many tropical plants growing there. The characteristic of the vegetation is the large size of the leaves and the fruits or seeds. It has already been stated that the island is practically wooded from end to end, and in some parts of the *vao-motua*, or original forest, the trees grow to a large size and have a very majestic appearance. These original forests are not too dense to allow of easy travelling in them—that is, where the rocks do not prevent it—for the undergrowth is not thick as compared with a New Zealand forest. There are many handsome ferns growing beneath the shade of the trees, amongst which the *Kapihi* is conspicuous by its beauty and frequency. Its leaves turn a bright yellow when dry, and are therefore much used by the natives for ornamental purposes in their dress on gala occasions. The *Luku* is also a very handsome plant (? fern), the bright shiny leaves of which grow sometimes to a length of 6 feet, with a width of 6 inches. There are two species known to the natives—*Luku-fua*, the leaves of which are eaten, it has the midrib green; and the *Luku-la-ua*, of which both roots and leaves are eaten, it has the midrib black. Many creepers are seen climbing up the trees, of which the *Fua-kanai*, with handsome purple-black berries as large as a walnut is very ornamental. There is a kind of cane, or liana, that sometimes reaches the very tops of



trees 120 feet high called *Va*. Of the forest trees the Banyan (*Orava*) is the largest, but it is not common; the largest seen was about 180 feet high, with a circumference, outside its many stems, of about 60 feet. The *Kafika* is the finest timber tree, and it is very common, growing to a height of 150 feet or more, with a diameter up to 4 or 5 feet. It is a very useful timber tree with tall straight stems, the wood of a light brown colour. The *Moota* or *Maota* is also a fine tree used in canoe building, with very handsome foliage like the shumach—it appears to me to be identical with the Samoan *Maota*.\* The *Tavahi* is also common, with handsome foliage somewhat like the *Maota*, and also like the locust or thorny acacia of Africa. It will be remembered that one species of the New Zealand *Tawai*, or *Towai*, has the young foliage like the locust, and probably herein is to be found the identity of name, *Tavahi*=*Tawai*—the Niuē people often insert an “h” in Maori words. (See this JOURNAL, vol. x., p. 180.)

To mention all the names of trees and other vegetation, specimens of which I obtained, would be tedious, for there are over 150 of them; and, as with the Maori of old, these are known to everybody, even to the little urchins of 10 and 12 years of age. Every plant, however minute, seems to have a proper name, some of which are worth mentioning. Although the sandalwood tree does not now grow in Niuē (if ever it did), the people have retained its name—*ahi*—in place-names, as *Fale-ahi*, &c. It is known by that name in several islands—i.e., Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, and Futuna, *asi*; Tahiti and Hawaii, *ahi*; Marquesas, *pu-ahi*. The *Fou*, or yellow Hibiscus, is as luxurious, and its flowers as handsome in Niuē as in all other islands of Central Polynesia; its bark is used for string, for *titi* or kilts, and other purposes. The *Ipi* or Tahitian chestnut grows there, but is not at all plentiful; it is the same as the *mape* of Rarotonga. The *Tuitui*, or candlenut, is fairly common, and has the same name all over Central Polynesia; the seeds are used for lights by threading them on a stick, and the soot from them in marking the *hiapo* or *tapa*. The *Tamanu* tree has also the name of *Fetau*, as in Tonga, Samoa, &c., but it is not known in Eastern Polynesia by that name. The sweet-scented *Tiale* (gardenia) is known by that name in all Central Polynesia (in Maori—obsolete—the word means scent), and a variety—the *Tiale-tafa*—has a handsome tubular white scentless flower. The *Oluolu* is a tree with hard, white, close-grained wood, much used in making the *katoua* or clubs, the wood becoming dark by age. The Brazilian plum *Vi* has the same name as in Tahiti, Samoa (*Spondias dulcis*), Tonga, Futuna, &c. It is a handsome tree, but rare in Niuē. The Pandanus or screw-pine (*Fa*) is common; it is known by some variant of that name—

\* See plate 4, which however is from a bad photograph.

*fala, fara, haro, ara*—in most of the islands. The leaves are used in thatching, for the making of baskets, hats (*potiki*), mats, &c., and sections of the large seeds are strung on string as an adornment to the person on gala occasions, its strong scent being pleasant to the natives. The coral tree (*Gate*)\* is somewhat rare, and the fine spike of scarlet flower seen in other islands is much smaller in size in Niuē. The name is much the same in other islands—*i.e.*, Ngatae, Gatae, 'Atae, &c.

The *Le* is a tree with broad handsome leaves, the wood being of service in canoe building. The *Mati* is a small tree, bearing on its stem rows of reddish fruit very like one of the species of mandarin orange, the fruit of which is little larger than a pea. The name *Mati* has been used in the Niuē scriptures as the equivalent of fig. The *Futu* is the *Hutu* or *Utu* of other islands, it has fine broad handsome leaves. There is a *Puka* and a *Pukatea*, both trees of some size, the latter not unlike the *Pukatea* of New Zealand. The *Tohi-hune*, or *Tai-hune*, or *Tuvāhi-kaku*, is a mimosa-like tree, probably identical with the *Toromiro* of Rarotonga. The *Toi* is useful for its wood of a mahogany colour; it is not at all like the *Toi* of New Zealand, the foliage being not unlike the New Zealand *Pomadarris* *Tainui*, and the fruit half an inch in diameter, purple in colour. The *Pua* and the *Pao* are trees of considerable size growing near the coast, the latter of which bears a large oval seed 4 inches by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in size, eaten in time of scarcity. The *Kalāka* is so like the New Zealand *Karaka* in its habit that the one might be taken for the other at a short distance, but they are different species. The *Kānomea* is a handsome tree with large seeds like plums, but not eatable. The *Kieto* is apparently a species of ebony, for the wood is very like it. The natives use it for barbs to their spears, and for other purposes. If it grew larger in size it would be worth exporting as ebony. The *l'ekakai*, or *Fikakai*, is a medium sized tree bearing pretty crimson flowers, like the New Zealand *Rata*, and a very agreeable fruit coloured pink and yellow, in shape like an elongated apple. The *Fua-ai* bears a nut which, in my opinion, is equally as good as a walnut.

Of the shrubs (*Lakau*) may be mentioned, the *Kava-vao*, a species of *Piper*, as is the *Kava-atua*.† The Niuē people, however, did not make or use the well-known *Kava* drink, though the latter shrub appears to me to be the same species as that from which it is made in other islands. The only use to which it was apparently put, was to

\* The Niuē "g" has always an "n" before it, thus *gate* is pronounced *ngate*.

† There is some confusion in my notes here, I am not now sure if the species of *Kava* used for making the drink of that name is called *Kava-atua*, as it is in Rarotonga.

fasten little pieces of the root on to their spears, which caused much irritation in the wounds made therewith. The *Fou-mamāla* is a handsome shrub, from the bark of which their fishing-nets (*kupega*) are made. The Cape gooseberry has been introduced, but there is a smaller species called *Fua-manini*, which is said to be native to the island. The *Nonu*, or *Morinda citrifolia*, is a very common shrub, it bears the same name in Tonga, Samoa, Rarotonga; Tahiti (*Nono*); Futuna and Marquesas (*Noni*). There are four species of *Polo*, a solanum:—*Polo-kai*, *Polo-miti*, *Polo-mayaiho*, and *Polo-iti*, the first and the last are, if not quite identical, very like the *Poporo* and *Porō-iti* of New Zealand. The name *Porō-iti* contains an interesting survival of a word; *iti*, for small, is no longer used in the Niuē dialect, *tote* (probably the Moriori word *toke*) having taken its place. *Iti*, however, is the common Polynesian word for small. The Niuē people use *ikiiki* for very small, showing the same change from “t” to “k” that has taken place in Hawaii and Samoa.

Amongst the shrubs may be included the *Talotalo*, a very handsome lily-like plant, with leaves 3 feet long by 4 or 5 inches wide, and with a sweet scented head of white flowers. There are innumerable creepers, several species of convolvulus, a prickly creeper called *Talamoa*, very like the New Zealand *Tataramoa*, and one—the *Pomea*, or *Malakamea*—with very pretty red and black seeds, used for necklaces. The *Maile* also is a pretty creeper, but not scented like the Hawaiian *Maile*.

Ferns are fairly numerous; some I have already mentioned. In the open parts of the island a fern like the New Zealand *Piupiu* (*Lomaria procra*) covers the ground, and is called *Mohuku* (the Maori *Mouku*, or *Mauku*, also the name of a fern, but a different species). The *Palatao* is very like the New Zealand *Paretao*, and is probably a variety of the same species. There are several orchids called *Pupu kalei*; the only one I saw in flower was a very pretty one, purple and white.

It is said there are four palms indigenous to Niuē (including the coco-nut), of which the *Logologo* is the most conspicuous from its large fruit, which grows in the centre of the stem from where the leaves sprout; it is like a gigantic pineapple in appearance. The leaves are not unlike the date palm. The *Piu* is the fan palm, a very handsome tree indeed. Another tall palm, growing to a height of 50 or 60 feet, I unfortunately have mislaid the name of, but it is not unlike the fan palm in appearance.

I believe there are five species of *Draccena*, but I only know the name of one, *Ti-mata-alea*, about which there is a tradition that will be referred to later on. *Ti* is the general name in Niuē, as it is

everywhere the Polynesian Race is found, but Niuē people pronounce the word *tsi*. The *Ti* above mentioned has a pretty spray of purple flowers, but its root, unlike the others, is not eaten.

### FOOD PLANTS.

The coco-nut will be referred to later on, but next to it in importance is the *Talo* (*Arum esculentum*), of which there are many varieties, some of which are :—

Talo-matāgi	Talo-pogi
Talo-pulekau	Talo-mātau
Talo-toga	Talo-matāga
Talo-maga	Talo-fati
Talo-pako	Talo-kula.

Of these all are said to be *Talo-tuai* (from of old), except the *Talo-futi* and *Talo-kula*, which, together with the *Talo-kiamo* introduced from Aneityum, have been taken to the island in modern times. Kiamo is the name the Niuē people give to Aneityum Island of the New Hebrides ; why, it is difficult to say, for it does not appear to be a corruption of the name of the island. This species of the *Talo* is yellow inside and particularly good eating. The *Talo* enters as an ingredient into many of their made dishes to be referred to later on. It is usually baked in the native oven (*umu*), but sometimes boiled. The *Talo* had a god (*tupua*) of its own named Mana-tafu-e-ika.\*

The giant *Talo* (*Kape*)† also grows at Niuē ; it is the *Colocasia* of the Botanists. There are three varieties known to the natives, viz. :—

Kape-matamata, a tall one
Kape-lau-maō.
Kape-tu-uli.

These are all eaten, but only in time of scarcity. The flower is like the arum, but smaller and yellow. It is a handsome plant, but not nearly so luxurious in growth at Niuē as at Tahiti. *Pulaka* is its name in the northern islands.

The yam (*Ufi*) is common in Niuē, but I saw none of the immense size grown in Samoa, Tonga, &c. There are nine varieties known to the natives, as follows :—

Ufi-lei	Ufi-toga	Ufi-tuā
Ufi-kavekave	Ufi-fetēka	Ufi-kamo
Ufi-kokau (wild yam)	Ufi-pia	Ufi-pāka
	Ufi-filita,	

of which *Ufi-pia* and *Ufi-paka* are introduced kinds. It may be men-

\* From Fata-a-iki's paper, which was written by the King of that name (1888-1896), which I shall often have to refer to later on.

† The Samoan name is 'ape, which is also the name for a blunderbuss. How is it the Maoris use the same word (*kope*) for a horse-pistol? for *kape* and *kope* are identical.



tioned here that the Maoris had a species of *Kumara* (Batatas), which they named *Uwhi-rei*, identical with the first name above, which no doubt is a recollection of the times when their ancestors knew the yam of the islands—indeed their traditions say that their forefathers brought the yam with them to New Zealand, but that it did not flourish, and so died out many generations ago.

Of the wild yams (*Hoi*, species of *Dioscorea*) there are four varieties, all more or less bitter, though the natives say of the first three mentioned below that they are *magalo*, sweet. They are:—

Hoi-tua	Hoi-tea
Hoi-vakili	Hoi-kona (or bitter)

This species of yam is prepared (*tuhoi*) by scraping, washing in salt water, and then in fresh before cooking. Their handsome convolvuluous-like foliage is to be seen constantly creeping over the shrubs in the forest.

The sweet potato, known more generally as the *Kumara* (Batatas) is grown in Niuē, but they call it *Timala* or *Fua-timala* (pronounced *Tsimala*).\* There are several varieties, but my informant failed to supply me with the names before I left, so I only know two, viz: *Mala-kula* and *Mala-tea*. The particular kind that I saw tasted much like the old Maori *Tukau* variety of *Kumara*.

The sugar-cane is common and seems to do well in the more open parts of the island; it is of course a cultivated plant. Its native name is *To*, as it is in most other islands inhabited by the Polynesians; the people chew the stem, and use the leaves for thatching. The following varieties are known to the natives:—

To-gatatea	To-hiata	To-kula
To-hega	To-maka	To-fua

The *Pia* or native arrowroot is very common everywhere. It springs up abundantly wherever the wood has been burnt. There is a variety named *Tere*, with which I am not acquainted, but it is said to be acrid in taste. The *Pia* enters largely into the foods of the natives. It is very good, but, prepared in their way has not the bright white appearance of the arrowroot of commerce; it is light purple in color.

The banana (*Puti*) is almost as important a food-plant as the *Talo*. It grows everywhere, i.e., by planting, even in the most rocky part it seems to flourish as well as elsewhere. Some varieties have been introduced, but others are native and wild. There are quite a number of kinds I believe, but the only names I have noted are:

Futi-maholi	Futi-hulahula	Futi-pili-kolo
Futi-tea	Futi-hai	Futi-tolo

\* To save repetition, it may be explained that in the Niuē dialect, wherever the "t" is followed by "i" or "e" an "s" is introduced. The Rev. Geo. Pratt in his *Samoan Dictionary* says this change only occurred some 15 years before 1876.

Futi-kula	Futi-ume	Futi-pāpā
Futi-uli	Futi-mamei	Futi-hehefaga
Futi-moamoafua	Futi-toga	

of which the first is very large, and the *mamei* particularly good eating.

The *Futi* is largely used in the made dishes of the people. The name given by the Niuē people to the banana, differs from that of Eastern Polynesian a good deal; the names in various islands are: Tonga, *Fuji*\* (which is the same as *Futi*); Samoa, *Fa'i* and *Mo'ē*; Futuna *Futi*, Rarotonga, *Meika*; Tahiti, *Fe'i*—the wild mountain variety=Samoa *Fa'i*, and *Mei'a*, the cultivated variety; Marquesas *Fahoka*; Hawaii *Mai'a*, Fiji, *Vudi*, which is the word *Futi* no doubt.

The bread fruit, *Mei*, so largely used in Tonga, Samoa, Tahiti, Rarotonga, &c., is not nearly so common in Niuē, and the trees have the appearance of being comparatively young; it seems probable therefore that it is an introduction of modern times. The name is identical with that used in Tonga, Futuna, and Marquesas, but in Somoa, Rarotonga, Tahiti and Hawaii it is Kuru, Uru, or 'ulu; in Fiji it is *Uto*.

The pandanus (*Fa*) has already been mentioned; its drupes are only eaten in time of scarcity. The pine-apple has been introduced; but is not so plentiful as in many of the other islands; the natives give it the same name as the pandanus (*Fa*) from the similarity of leaves and fruit in appearance.

The papaw or mammy apple (*Carica Papaya*) called in Niuē *Loku*, flourishes well, and is to be seen everywhere. The Samoan name is *Esi*, Tonga, *Oleji*, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Mangarewa and Paumotu, *Ninita*, Hawaii, *hei*. From the diversity of names, this tree is evidently of modern introduction in the islands,† and, so far as Niuē is concerned it was first brought there from Raiatea in 1831-2.

*Pilita* is a creeper having a tuberous root, which is eaten in time of scarcity. It is probably the same or allied to the *Pilita* of Samoa (*Dioscoria pentaphylla*). The same name is given to the root of the *Ieie* (Maori *Kiekie*) in Tahiti, and from the tuberous root and climbing habit of the New Zealand supplejack it probably received the name of *Pirita* in remembrance of the above or a similar plant in the "fatherland."

The orange (*Mōli*) grows well and bears fine sweet fruit, but the natives have not planted it to any extent. It bears the same name in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Futuna, Rarotonga, and Tahiti. The lemon, lime, citron, and shaddock also flourish very well in Niuē, particularly the lemon (*Tipolu*). The tamarind, mango, cotton (*Vavae*, which is

\* In the Tonga dialect, the letter "t" is frequently replaced by "j." This approximates to the Niuē "ts."

† Rev. Wyatt Gill says it was introduced from Rio.

its name in Samoa, Tonga, Rarotonga, and Tahiti), the kapoc tree (also called *Varae*), the date palm—its fruit does not ripen properly—and numbers of other useful and edible plants have been introduced, and all seem to do well. The grenadilla (Niuē name *vine*, which is probably the English word vine), grows well; its handsome foliage and flowers are seen climbing over the shrubs, together with its large vegetable-marrow-like fruit, very delicious to eat. In the more open parts of the island the yellow guava (*Kau-toga*) is spreading fast, and already covers many hundreds of acres, as it has done in Rarotonga, Tahiti, Hawaii, and Samoa, but to a much larger extent, especially in Hawaii.

### THE COCO-NUT (*Niu*).

But of all the trees that grow at Niuē the coco-nut is by far the most important, as it is in all the islands inhabited by the Polynesians. There are four species known to the natives—*Niu-tea*, with light-coloured fruit and stem; *Niu-kula*, the fruit of which is dark brown; *Niu-hiata*, with yellowish fruit, not so dark and smaller than *Niu-kula*; and *Niu-toga*, a variety introduced in modern times.

The coco-nut is to be found all over the island, but very sparsely in the interior; it grows to perfection on the lower terrace, and here it forms a dense forest nearly all round the island, overshadowing the roads and villages, and tempering the heat to the inhabitants, whilst at the same time serving as food, drink, and for innumerable other purposes. Every tree on the island has an owner, and they have a considerable value, not only for the purposes named but as forming the principal export of the island in the form of copra, of which about 600 to 800 tons are exported annually, most of it going to Tonga, where it is transhipped to Hamburg, the rest to Sydney, where it is used in the manufacture of Sunlight soap, &c. I need not speak of the beauty of the coco-nut palm, its praises have been sung by far abler pens than mine. It is seen to perfection in the bright moonlight, and especially in Samoa, where it seems to grow with more luxuriousness than elsewhere. For the benefit of our New Zealand members it may be added that the leaf of the coco-nut is so like our New Zealand palm—the *Nikau*—that at a little distance the two could not be distinguished the one from the other. But the fruit is utterly different. Clustering under where the leaves branch from the stem, the great nuts—brown, yellow, or green—are seen, often over one hundred in number, and in all stages of growth, from the tiny nut no bigger than a walnut to that of the largest size, and they are very large indeed in Niuē—larger, it is said, than anywhere else in the Pacific. In a 35-mile drive in Tonga, I saw nothing to equal the Niuē nut, either in size or prolificness. A large Niuē nut will contain as much as two to three pints of its deliciously cool milk (so called)

It is amusing to see with what ease the little boys of from eight upwards will walk up a coco-nut tree to break off the fruit from the *loholoho*, or stem, on which it grows. The nut is thrown down, and then with a stick sharpened at the upper end (often pointed with the teeth) and the lower stuck in the ground, a few blows of the nut on the point serves to detach (*hē*, to husk) the thick outer husk (*pulu*), and a few taps on the end of the nut breaks off (*fela*, to open) a small portion of the shell sufficient to allow one to drink the delicious contents. The white flesh (*kakano*) of the nut is largely used by the natives in their made dishes, of which they have several, referred to later on.

For certain purposes the coco-nut trees are often preserved for a time. This is shown by a part of the leaf tied round the stem of the tree. Such a proceeding is termed *fono*, and is equivalent to the *rahui* of the Maori and eastern Polynesian. At all feasts and presentations of food the coco-nut is an important adjunct, but in the speech presenting the food it is not referred to by its ordinary name of *Niu*, nor indeed under similar circumstances are any of the foods alluded to by their common names. This custom is somewhat akin—but not identical—to that of the Samoans, who give honorific names to the individuals forming the *kava* ring which are not used at any other time. These names in Niuē are :—

The Coco-nut, ordinary name <i>Fua-niu</i> ; feast name, <i>Ulu-ola</i> *						
„	Talo	„	„	<i>Talo</i>	„	„ <i>Tafuna-fonua†</i>
„	Banana	„	„	<i>Futi</i>	„	„ <i>Lau-malika</i>
„	Sugar-cane	„	„	<i>To</i>	„	„ <i>Lau-lelēva.</i>

We may probably trace in this observance the old Polynesian idea that everything has a spirit form of its own, and in feasts, &c., the occasion being great, the spirit or honorific names are used.

It is a Niuē custom that on the first visit of a stranger of any note to their villages to present them with a few living coco-nuts, the idea being apparently to give the visitor the “freedom” of the village. Thus on my first visit to Liku an old Patu, or chief, presented me with five young coco-nut trees, which were afterwards duly planted, and the fruit of which could be used by me on subsequent visits.

It may be of use to state, for comparison, the various names of the parts of the coco-nut. The fibrous husk of the nut is called *pulu*, and it serves a good many purposes, the most important of which is

\* In a document written by Fata-a-iki, already referred to, *Ulu-lo-tuna* is given as another name for the coco-nut. This name is very interesting, as it probably contains a reference to the East Polynesian story of the origin of the coco-nut, which sprung from the brain of the eel (*tuna*). *Lo* in the name here given is probably an abbreviation of *lolo* (or *roro*), the brain. For the full story see “Myths and Songs from the South Pacific,” p. 77, by Dr. Wyatt Gill, B.A.

† The *Talo* is also referred to as *Efu-tu* and *Efu-man*.



in rope or sinnet (*toua*) and string (*aho*) making. It is of course the "coir" of commerce, a name which is probably derived from the Polynesian name for a rope (*kaha*). On the occasion of one of the students leaving Niue in October, 1901, to join the New Guinea band of Missionaries his friends gave him 1,400 fathoms of braided sinnet to take with him for purposes of exchange. The sinnet is very strong and durable. From the shell, after being scraped and sometimes polished, the ordinary drinking vessels (*kapiniu*) are made, and the whole shell is used as a water-bottle.\* Soon after the nut begins to grow the interior is filled with a spongy mass called *uho-niu*, which is sweet and pleasant to eat. A young coco-nut with but little pulp in it is named *kola* and *pona-niu*. The nuts grow on a stem called a *loholoho*, whilst the flower stem is termed *tomē*, and the young shoot *muka*, which is the Maori name for the white scraped fibre of the flax plant. The main midrib of the leaf is *palelafa*, and the rib of each separate branch leaf is *kaniu*. The leaf itself is used in thatching, to make baskets (*kato*), mats (*potu*), and in various other ways. The *kaniu* is used in several ways, such as for making brooms, combs, &c. The coco-nut wood is hard and heavy, and when polished makes handsome sticks, &c. From the white pulp of the nut, oil (*puke-lolo*) is made by scraping and pressing, which is used for anointing themselves with, and it is often scented (*manogi*). Land covered with coco-nuts is said to be *niuniu*. The tree grows to about 60 or 70 feet high in Niue, and is very healthy as a rule, though it is occasionally attacked by a disease called *pao*, but does not appear to be affected by the blight common in Eastern Polynesia, which turns the leaves yellow and prevents the trees bearing. The ground underneath the coco-nut trees is kept clear of scrub, &c., in order to see the nuts when they fall, and the natives usually light fires every year under the trees, which, they say, causes increased productiveness. Probably the same reason induces them to hack the trees about with an axe, causing their otherwise handsome stems to appear unsightly.

#### ORIGIN OF THE COCO-NUT ON NIE.

The *Niu*, or coco-nut, is not indigenous to Niue—I mean indigenous in the sense one may use it of many other islands, *i.e.*, that it has been growing there a long time; of course it is not truly indigenous in any part of Polynesia, though it has been so long in most of the islands that the natives have no traditions of its being brought to them. De Candolle, the great authority on cultivated plants, states (apparently with some doubt) that its native habitat is Central America. What

\* The Niue people do not possess the gourd (*hue* of the Maoris) as some other branches of the race do.

an interesting history lies behind that statement, could it be unravelled! Whatever may be its true origin, however, does not affect the question so far as Niuē is concerned, for the coco-nut has been introduced there within historical (Polynesian) times. There are several accounts of its introduction, and if we may believe the story told to Mr. Lawes, it cannot have been on the island more than 200 years, if we allow that to be a fair estimate of the life of a coco-nut tree. It is said by the natives that the first coco-nut brought there only died since Mr. Lawes has resided on the island, or during the last 30 years. Taken in connection with the tradition to be related directly, I would suggest that the above statement may refer to one species of the coco-nut only, not to the original introduction of the first tree. Taki-ula, a well-informed man of Tuapa, told me that the first coco-nut drifted ashore, and was planted at Mutalau. The Avatele people have a tradition that a coco-nut was found on the shore, having been washed up by the sea. The man who found it, not knowing what it was, took it to his house and placed it in a corner under a floor-mat (*potu*). He then went away to help in one of the wars at that time constant, and was absent some time. On his return he discovered that the unknown article had put forth leaves and roots. He planted this, and their coco-nuts are derived from that source. Now as to these two stories: It would seem probable from the prevalence of the trade wind, that these nuts must have come from the East—the variable winds would scarce allow of the drift from Tonga or Samoa. If so they must have drifted at least 500 miles, if not more. Dana, in his work on the Coral Islands, makes the statement that the coco-nut will not germinate if it is very long in salt water, though it seems probable nevertheless that some of the smaller atolls have received their coco-nuts in this manner—that is a very popular belief, especially of those who are quite ignorant of, or ignore, the extent of the Pacific covered by the explorations of the old Polynesian voyagers. It is known that they invariably carried coco-nuts in their canoes, and naturally planted them wherever they landed. In this manner I believe many an island now uninhabited has obtained its coco-nuts, rather than by accidental drifting. I hold that there are extremely few islands in the Pacific within the temperate zone that have not been visited by the Polynesians during the high-day of their nautical enterprise, which practically ceased some 500 years ago, through causes which I have detailed in “Hawaiki.”\* It is with this strong belief that I think the following tradition assigns the true origin of the coco-nuts on Niuē, the original story in the native language will be found later on. After describing two places in Niuē

\* JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, vol. VII.

named after the two heroes to be mentioned, the story says :—

“Vai-matagi and Vai-fualoto dwelt at Kulanahau and Kaupa. Kaupa is near where the first chapel was built by Paulo (in 1849) the teacher from Samoa that came to Mutalau. Now Vai-matagi and Vai-fualoto went on a journey to visit various different islands. Their expedition brought them to an island named Tutuila, the king of which island was named Moa. This chief never lifted up his eyes, for fear if he did so and looked on the trees, they would die. It was the same with all things on the face of the earth, the same with all animals that crawl, the same with all mankind. He ever kept his gaze directed to the earth, never turning from it, lest the land and all things on it he cursed.

“So the expedition of Levei-matangi and Levei-fualolo arrived at this island of Tutuila. (Note the change in the names of the two men). Then the chief of the island asked of them, ‘You two men, whence do you come? Make me acquainted with the name of the island of you two, what it may be, and what have you to eat and to drink there?’ Then they spoke and related their story unto the chief Moa: ‘Our expedition has come from Nuku-tu-taha, from Motu-tē-fua, from Fakahoa-motu, from Nuku-tuluea. We drink of the waters which are good, and eat of certain fruits of small trees from the earth. *Kuenaia!*’ (That is ended.)

“The chief now made a feast unto the expedition, and they tasted of many luscious and sweet things with their lips, and then they praised these things, and felt their lips and their hands for they were greasy with the oil of the coco-nut, and then they said, ‘We do not possess anything like this in our island.’

“After the feast was over they proceeded to gossip, and then after a time the chief gave to them two coco-nuts; the first one was a *Niu-kula*, which he gave to Levei-matagi, but afterwards gave another to Levei-fualoto, a *Niu-hina*. And the chief said, ‘*Ko e`niu ē ma mua,*’ ‘these coco-nuts are for you two; take them with you, and dig the ground at your island and plant them; but guard them carefully as they grow—take great heed of them until they fruit. From them will come fruit, first in quality, and very useful to your bodies and those of your relatives. Let there grow from them plenty for all succeeding generations.’ \* \* \*

“It was these two men, Levei-matagi and Levei-fualoto—which are the same as Vai-matagi and Vai-fualoto—who called this island *Niuē-fekai*. Huanaki and Fāo gave the first four names, and these men the present name.”

In this tradition we see the origin of the name *Niuē*. In the dialect of the island “*e*” is almost equivalent to *nei*; hence *Niuē* may

be translated as "this Niu" in the same manner that Hawaii is frequently called Hawaii-nei, "this Hawaii."

On my asking the natives how the two Niuē men reached Tutuila, seeing that their canoes as at present constructed would be incapable of such a voyage (unless under very exceptional circumstances), they told me that in former times they used much larger canoes, which were double. *Vaka-hai-ua* is their name for a double canoe. To the Polynesians in the high-day of their powers as navigators such a voyage—270 miles—would present no difficulty whatever. It is unfortunate that no date can be assigned for this voyage through the genealogical descent from either of the voyagers. Nor does the name of the ruling chief of Tutuila (Moa) help us, for that is the family name of the Tui-Manu'a, or king of Manu'a Island, situated some 70 miles east of Tutuila, a family which has held the chief position in rank in Samoa from time immemorial, and whose *mana* extended over the whole group, though the kingship of Samoa has been held by the Malietoa family since about the year 1200-1250. The statement in the foregoing tradition as to the power of the "evil eye" of the Samoan chief is borne out by Samoan tradition. Tangaloa-a-ui, a semi-divine ancestor of the Manu'a kings, evidently possessed this power, according to the Samoan traditions,\* as did his descendants, the Moa family of Manu'a.

Although we cannot assign a date for the expedition of these two men to Samoa, it is clear from other things that it occurred in the "long ago," and probably not long after Niuē was first settled; but still long enough to have allowed a generation to have grown up that knew not the taste and appearance of the coco-nut, except probably by tradition.

It has already been stated that the coco-nut, in the shape of cobra, is the principal article of export. Another vegetable also forms an export to a small extent; this is the *pakapaka-atua* (or *pakapaka-aitu*), or fungus, which goes to the China market, just as the *hakekakeka* (fungus) of New Zealand does.

#### THE FAUNA OF NIUE (ANIMALS, *manu*).

There were no animals (*manu*, general name for all animals), on Niuē when the first intercourse with white people commenced, except the rat. Unlike most of the other branches of the Polynesian Race, they possessed neither pigs nor dogs, though it is clear they once

\* See "Some Folk-songs and Myths from Samoa." Translated by Rev. G. Pratt, with introduction and notes by John Fraser, LL.D. (Transactions Royal Society, N.S.W., volume for 1891.) I cannot just now lay my hands on another authority, which gives an account very similar to that of the Niuē traditions as to the power of "blasting" by looking at, possessed by the Moa family.



knew of the former, for the common Polynesian name for pig (*puaka*) is retained in the names of places. Pigs are numerous enough now, but were introduced in the middle of the nineteenth century. The first dog the Niuē people became acquainted with was one that came ashore from a ship; probably the vessel that was wrecked on the East Coast, which was laden with Oregon pine, of which large quantities are still to be seen, having been used by the natives for doors, windows, furniture, floors, &c. This dog received the name of Taafu; but he did not live long as a settler on Niuē, for he was discovered eating the dead bodies in the burial caves, and consequently came to an untimely end. The natives have plenty of dogs now, and call them *kuli*, which seems to imply that they were introduced from either Tonga or New Zealand.

The rat, common on almost all Polynesian Islands, has always been an inhabitant of Niuē, and, from description, it is the same species as in other islands. Its name in Niuē is *kumā* (Samoa, *‘imoa*, *‘iole*, *isumu*; Tonga, *kuma*; Futuna, *kimoa*; Rarotonga, *kiore*; Tahiti, *‘iore*; Mangareva, *kiore*; Paumotu, *kiore*; Marquesas, *kiō’e*; Hawaii; *‘iole*; Maori, *kiore*; Nukuoro, *kimoa*). It is plentiful still on the island—its great enemy the Norway rat having not yet made its appearance there. As elsewhere, it formed in old times an article of diet, and being a vegetable feeder, it would be as good as rabbit. An amusing story about the rat and the flying fox will be found later on.

#### BIRDS (*manu-lele*).

The most important of the Niuē birds is the common domestic fowl called *moa*. It has been on the island from ancient times, and was no doubt brought there by the early inhabitants, for it is a very ancient possession of the Polynesians. The fowl bears the same name in Tonga, Samoa, Futuna, Fiji (*toa*), Uea, Rarotonga, Tahiti, Paumotu, Mangareva, Marquesas, and Hawaii, whilst in New Zealand, where the Maoris had no fowls, the name is applied to the *Dinornis*. The following are the birds of Niuē:—

**VEKA.**—This bird is extinct; the natives told me it is now impossible to get a specimen. From their description it must have been very like the New Zealand and Samoan bird (*weka* in New Zealand, *ve’a* in the latter dialect—*Rallus pectoralis*). It was from six to eight inches high, and mottled brown in color; was a dirty feeder, fond of offal, &c. In Tonga there is a bird named *veka*; and in Futuna, a *veka* of grey color, with long tail.

**KALĒ, or KULĒ.**—A species of *Porphyrio*; in plumage and size, apparently exactly like our New Zealand *pukeko*, or *pakura* (*Porphyrio melanotus*), and very nearly like the Samoan bird (*manu-ali’i*, and *manu-sā*, *Porphyrio Samoensis*). Like its New Zealand cousin, it steals

the roots from the cultivations. This bird has many stories connected with it in various islands of the Pacific. In New Zealand it is connected with the Māui myths. Some Samoan stories about it will be found in “*O le tala i manu*,” by the Rev. Thos. Powell, F.L.S., p. 189. The Niuē people have the following brief story: “The *Veka* and the *Kalē* once met and had a conversation, during which the *Kalē* derided the *Veka* on account of its filthy living; whilst the *Veka* accused the other of its predatory habits of stealing from the cultivations. The two birds then went down to the reef, where they found a great clam (*Gēēgēē*), and the *Veka* told the *Kalē* to tickle it near the hinge of its shell, which it did, thus causing the clam to open wide its shell. The *Veka* now induced the *Kalē* to put its legs into the open chasm, and as soon as he did so the clam closed its shells and held the *Kalē* tight. Thus he remained, to the amusement of the *Veka*, until the tide rose, when the clam opened his mouth and allowed the *Kalē* to escape; but in his struggles to free himself the *Kalē*’s legs were drawn out quite long and became red, which they remain to this day.”

LUPE.—A large wood pigeon, about the same size as the New Zealand pigeon (*kereru*, *kuku*, *kukupā*, and emblematically *rupe*, *Carpophaga Novæ Zealandiæ*.) It is very like the *kereru* in coloring also. There is a *lupe* in Tonga, a pigeon; one (*lupe*, C. Pacifica), in Samoa; also pigeons having the same native names (*lupe*) in Rarotonga, Tahiti, Futuna (*lupe*), Fiji, *rupe* or *ruve*; whilst in Manga-*reva* the pigeon or ring-dove is *kuku*, in Hawaii *monu*, and in Nukuoro *manu-nono* (a dove). Formerly these birds were caught by decoy birds and nets, and it was an occupation or amusement of the chiefs, as it was in Samoa.

KULUKULU.—The dove, a pretty little bird, whose sweet “*coo*” is constantly heard in the woods. It is green on the back, greyish-green on the breast, red on top of the head, and yellow under the tail—from 6 to 8 inches long. There is a dove called *kulukulu* in Tonga; in Samoa a species of *Columba*, whether identical or not I cannot say, called *jiavi*; in Futuna a dove called *kulukulu*; whilst in Tahiti there is a species of *Columba* called ‘*u’upa*=Maori *kukupā*, the name for the pigeon. The yellow feathers of the *kulukulu* on Niuē are much prized for purposes of ornamentation.

HENGA.—The parroquet, which is a pretty little bird very like the New Zealand species (*kakariki*) but smaller; it has blue feathers on the top of the head, red on the throat and lower part of the belly, and all the rest dark green. In Tonga the parroquet is called *kaka*, the Maori word for a parrot. In Samoa the *senja* is the *Coriphilus* fringillaceous, a parroquet about the same size as its Niuē cousin. In Futuna the *senja* is a red and green parroquet.

**MOHO.**—A small land rail, about 5 or 6 inches high, brown on the back and sides, shading off into grey on the sides. It has a loud note, and is not unlike the New Zealand *moho*, or rail (*Rallus-philippensis*). There is a Tongan bird named *moho*, a Samoan bird *mosomoso*, Futuna *moso*, a small-back bird, Rarotonga *mo'o*, Hawaii *moho*, but whether of the same species I know not.

**PEKA.**—The flying fox, which appears to me to be the same species as in Rarotonga with the same name. In Tonga and Fiji the bat is *beka*, and in Samoa the flying fox is *pe'a* (*Pteropus*, three species), and *peka* in Futuna. In Nukuoro *peka* is a bat, as it is in New Zealand. A story about the *peka* will be found later on. The bird (or beast, for of course it is an animal), is common, and large flocks of them are sometimes seen flying overhead. They are too fond of fruit.

**PEKAPEKA.**—A little swallow-like bird, black and grey in colour, that is constantly seen darting about after flies, &c. It seems to me to be the same bird as that of the same name in Tonga, and the *pe'ape'a* in Samoa (*Callocalia spodiopygia*). In Tahiti the same bird is called *ope'a*.

**MITI**—A small speckled brown bird, very common. In Tonga there is a bird named *miji*; in Samoa, three species of *miti*, the *miti-sina* (*Lalage terat*), the *miti-uli*, and *miti-rao* (*Aplonis brevirostris*); Futuna, *miti*, three species.

**HEAHEA.**—A small black and grey bird, about the size of a sparrow, very common—a pretty little bird. The name appears to be local, for I cannot find it in any other dialect.

**LULU.**—The owl, a very fine handsome bird, silver-grey mottled plumage, standing about 10 inches high. This bird is semi-sacred, the natives seem rather to fear it and object to catching it, though one was brought to me by a boy. This name for the owl is common in the Pacific. New Zealand, *ruru* (*Spiloglaux Novæ Zealandiæ*); Samoa, *lulu* (*Strix delicatula*); Tonga, *lulu*, the owl; Futuna, *lulu*, the screech owl; Fiji, *lulu*, the owl; Rarotonga, *ruru*, the white heron, or the albatross; Tahiti, *ruru*, the albatross, also a land bird; whilst in Hawaii the owl is *pu'e'o*=Maori *pukeko*, the Porphyrio.

**MOTUKU.**—A sea-shore bird, a crane. There is another species, the *motuku-tea*, or white crane, but I saw neither. The equivalents in other islands are: New Zealand, *matuku*, the crane; Tonga, *motuku*, a sea gull; Samoa, *matu'u*, the crane (*Ardea sacra*); Futuna, *amatuku*; Nukuoro, *matuku*, blue heron; Tahiti, *'otu'u* (=Maori *kotuku*, the white heron); Rarotonga, *kotuku*, heron; Mangareva, *kotuku*, white heron.

**TUAKI.**—A handsome white gull, with two long white tail feathers, a species of man-o'-war, or tropic bird. The tail feathers are prized for ornamental purposes. There is another species, the *tuaki-kula*.

which visits the island occasionally, that has two long red tail feathers, much prized by the natives. It is, I think, identical with the *amo-kura* of New Zealand, whose red tail feathers are equally highly prized by the Maoris. Sir W. L. Buller's description\* of the tail feathers of the New Zealand bird fits exactly those from Niuē. He gives the name as *Phaeton rubricauda*, or red-tailed tropic bird. In Samoa, the same bird is called *tava'e-ula* (in Maori *tawake*, an ancient personal name). In Tonga there is a bird called *tu* and *taviki*, but of what species I know not. In Rarotonga the frigate-bird is *tavake*. In Futuna the *tavake* is the "paille-en-queue"; in Mangareva it is *tavake*; whilst in Tahiti the tropic-bird is *mauroa*.†

**TAKETAKE.**—Is a species of seagull, very like the above, beautifully white, but without the long white tail feathers. It is a very pretty little bird, about 8 to 10 inches high, and is often seen flying over the coco-nut trees. The name (though probably not the bird) is local, for I do not know of any bird's name like it in other dialects except New Zealand, where it is also the name of a gull, but I cannot say if the two birds are identical.

*Gogo*, *kalāgi* and *kalūe* are sea birds, which I did not see. A gull in New Zealand is also called *ngongo*.

**KIU**—There are four species of this bird (at least four names)—*kiu-ulu-fua*, a reef bird, dark grey, about 10 inches high, long-legged; *kiu-caluvatu*, with long tail; *kiu-hakumani*, and *kiu-uta*. They are probably plovers.

Neither of the New Zealand cuckoos visit Niuē, though one—the *kohoperoa*—goes much farther away, to Tahiti, &c.

#### FISH (*Ika*;)

Niuē possesses a great variety of fish, of which some are richly colored, and many good to eat, but dry, as compared with New Zealand fish. I obtained a list of 52 fish that are eaten, but it would be tedious to enumerate them all, though a few may be mentioned. The whale is called *tāfua*; the shark, *maḡō*; the turtle, *fonu*; the sword-fish, *haku* and *haku-piu*; the *takua* is the bonito; the *hahave* and *hipa* are flying-fishes; *toke* is the conger-eel; *loli*, a sea-slug; *feke*, the cuttle-fish; whilst *tuna* is a little fresh-water fish, a name applied to the eel in most parts. Cray-fish are to be found (called *uo*), but I imagine are not common, for I saw none, though crabs of many kinds are plentiful; and, in addition to the salt-water crab, there is one (the *uḡa*) which is a land crab that is often seen about the houses, roads,

\* "Birds of New Zealand," vol. II., p. 186.

† From the fact of there being a place in Niuē called Hiku-tavake (the *tavake*'s tail) it would seem that the tropic bird, although now called *tuaki*, was once known as *tavake*, as in other islands.



&c.; it is eaten by the natives. There is also a sea-snake called *katuali*, but I saw none; it is quite harmless. The Niuē people are great fishermen, and nearly every night when the moon is not too bright their little canoes may be seen passing along the coast with their bright torches, making a very pretty scene. I was told by the master of a vessel who formerly traded to the island that he was never apprehensive of "running the island down," because he was invariably able to see the coast lighted up by the torches of the fishermen. The canoes will be described later on.

#### SHELL-FISH.

From the nature of the coast—a coral reef—it may be expected that shell-fish are not abundant, and yet the women are to be seen every day on the reef gathering (*fagota*) such as may be found. The giant *Trydaena* (*gēēgēē*) is found, and its solid shell is used, as in other islands, from which to make axes (*toki*), for which purposes it is suitable, though not so hard as stone; but then the Niuē people have no volcanic stone on their island as other branches of the race have. The cowrie of several varieties is found in Niuē, some of them of great beauty. The general name is *pule*.\* the white cowrie being *pule-tea*; the brown mottled, and tiger cowrie are called *pule-kula*. The *pule-tea* is highly valued for ornamental purposes. This name *pule* for the cowrie shell appears to be confined to Tonga, Samoa, and Niuē, and in Samoa it is a general name for shells, whereas in Niuē and New Zealand a univalve shell is *pu*.

There are several species of land shells, of which the natives make great use for adornment, as in necklaces, &c. I am enabled by the kindness of Mr. A. Suter, of the Auckland Museum, to give the scientific names of those land shells I brought from Niuē. They are:—

*Trumatella rustica*, Mousson. The *ihi-maka* or *uho-maka* of the natives.

*Helicina brazierii*, Pease. The *ihivao* of the natives.

*Melampus fasciatus*, Deshayes—*fua-rokea* of the natives.

„ *cartaneus*, Mühlfeldt—*fua-hihi* of the natives.

„ *lutens*, Quoy and Gaimard—*fua-hihi* of the natives.

#### LIZARDS (*Moko*) AND INSECTS.

Lizards are very common indeed, and are seen everywhere. A little brown one about 4 to 5 inches long is the most common. The *moko-lauulu* is larger, about 8 inches long, and somewhat hairy; hence the name *lauulu*, hair. There are, I believe, several species, such as the *mokolū*, *moko-maga*, *moko-mogamoga*, and *moko-taliqa*, but I did not

\* This word as applied to a shell is not known in Maori, but the Moriori of the Chatham Islands have retained it (*pure*) as the name for the scallop, not having any cowries in their island.

see them. The Niuē natives do not appear to have the same intense dread of the lizard as the Maoris have.

Of the insects, there are some pretty varieties of butterflies—about four kinds that I noticed—the native name is *pepe*. The *moko-va* is a large green mantis about 8 inches in length. The cockroach—said to be introduced—is called *mogamoga*; it is very common and very objectionable. The mosquito is very rarely seen; its native name is *namu*. The dragon fly is *kitekite-rai*, the spider (numerous and some handsomely colored), *kufani* and *kaleveleve*,\* the ant *atare*; the common fly is *lago*, but Niuē is happily almost free from this, the greatest pest of tropical Polynesia, for they died off a few years since, apparently having been affected with some epidemic. *Lago-fufu* is the mason wasp, and *lago-meli* the bee, both the latter introduced. *Moko-tafatafa* is the black beetle, the same as the Maori *kekerengu*. *Kili-kili-mutu* is a worm, and *kutu* a flea or louse; whilst *tuma* is the clothes louse. The grasshopper is *he*.

Niuē is particularly free from insect pests—more so than any other island I have visited. I am not aware of any poisonous insect on the island, or of one that stings sufficiently to cause pain. The *rango-patia*, or big wasp of Rarotonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii, has not found its way there yet.

#### CLIMATE.

Situated as Niuē is, three degrees of latitude within the tropics, the temperature is naturally warm. Whilst I was there from September to December the thermometer varied from 74° to 94° during the day in the shade. But this heat is a moist heat, which is felt more than a dry heat. So long as the S.S.E. trade winds (*maragai*) last—i.e., from the end of March to end of November—the sky is very frequently overcast sufficiently to temper the direct rays of the sun. But as soon as variable winds set in from north (*tokelau*) or west (*lalo*), or north-west (*laki*), the heat increases a good deal—such at least is my short experience—and is trying to one accustomed to a temperate climate; not that the heat prevents exertion, for white people in Niuē seem just as active as elsewhere, but it naturally induces a profuse perspiration, which is the disagreeable part of it. There seems to be a very fair rainfall, but it has never been measured that I am aware of. At the same time, it is said the *talo* crops do suffer from drought occasionally.

\* This name probably illustrates a change in syllables (metathesis) well known to philologists. The Maori name for a spider is *pu-nga-werewere*. If we take the last part of this word and the last in the Niuē word, *ka-leveleve*, we shall see that in the latter the “l” has changed places with the “v,” or in the Maori word the “w” has changed places with the “r.” Of course, “w” and “v,” “l” and “r” are identical.

Niuē is just on the borders of the hurricane belt, so they are occasionally felt there, but are not frequent. The native name for a hurricane is *afā-tokai-maka*. Thunder (*pakulagi*) storms are not infrequent, and sometimes the lightning (*uhila*) strikes the coco-nut trees. Earthquakes (*mafuike*) are occasionally felt, but never of any violence. The Niuē name for them is identical with those of Samoa (*mafui'e*) and Tonga (*mofuika*, and is the name the Maoris give (*Mahuika*) to the father of Māui, who resided in the nether regions. This is perhaps not very strange, when we consider the stories about Mahuika; but why the Niuē people should call a rainbow Tagaloa, which was the name of their principal god in old days, is incomprehensible. The Tongan name is *umata*; Samoan and Futunan, *nuanua*; Tahitian, Mangarevan, Marquesan, and Rarotongan, *anuanua*; in Hawaii, *annuenue* and in New Zealand, *aniwhaniwha*. The Fijian name (*ndrondrolagi*) is apparently from a different root, which might be expected. The Maori name is easily connected with *anuanua*, so we have Niuē occupying a solitary position amongst Polynesian peoples in regard to this name. The only thing at all like it that I know of is that the Maoris have a god of the rainbow, or rather the rainbow is the manifestation of their god Uenuku, sometimes called Kahu-kura. These two gods, however, stand on quite a different footing to Tangaroa, who was with many branches of the race their supreme god and creator; whereas Uenuku and Kahu-kura hold, even with the Maoris, quite a secondary rank, even if they are not deified ancestors.

In Niuē there are two seasons, or *tau*—i.e., *tau-tuku*, spring time; and *tau-mati-afu*, autumn.

(To be continued.)



## THE POLYNESIAN NUMERALS

ONE, FIVE, TEN.

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BY JOHN FRASER, LL.D., SYDNEY.

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(Continued from page 8, Vol. XI.)

### PART III.—THE NUMERAL “TEN.”

The two previous parts of this discussion have disposed of ‘one’ and ‘five’; I now proceed to the numeral ‘ten’; and, as before, I will establish the chief facts by way of Propositions.

Proposition X.—*In several languages the word for ‘ten’ means ‘two hands.’*

In proof of this I quote:—

(a.) The Sanskrit *daśa*, ‘ten,’ is made up of *da* (for *dva*), ‘two,’ and *śa* for *ka*, *kam*, as we have seen it in Sk. *śam-a*, ‘hand.’ In the Keltic languages, the Sk. *dva*, ‘two,’ has the forms *dá*, *dī*, *dé*, *dáu*, *do*. The Greek *δέκα*, ‘ten,’ is *de*, ‘two,’ and *ka*, as before. The Lat. *dekem* (*decem*), ‘ten,’ retains the *m* of the root *kam*; the Gothic *taihun*, the German *zehn*, and the English ‘ten’ are *tai* and *ze*, ‘two,’ and *hun* for *kam* (cf. the *n* in *πέντε* and *quinque*). The Gadhelic *deich*, ‘ten,’ is *dei*, ‘two,’ and *ch* for *ka*.

(b.) The Roman numeral sign for ‘ten’ is X, which is one V superimposed on another V inverted; it thus represents ‘two hands.’

(c.) The Kashmiri *bod-atilang* and *do-laman*, ‘ten,’ are literally ‘two hands.’

It is scarcely necessary to give more examples; for, since 5 is one hand, it follows that 10 must be two hands.

Proposition XI.—*The Polynesian and some other languages say ‘the whole,’ ‘the all,’ ‘all’ (meaning the fingers), for ‘ten’; many of these words are founded on the idea ‘to be full, complete, finished.’*

Some of the proofs for this statement are clear; others are obscure, but it will be my duty to make them clear.



(a.) The Hawaii (Polynesian) word for 'ten' is *umi*, which is clearly the Samoan '*uma*, 'all, the whole,' '*uma*, 'to be finished.' *Umi* is the Maori and Rarotongan word *kumi*, 'ten' fathoms.

(b.) The Andamanese say *ardūru*, 'all,' when they use both hands for 'ten.' (See Prop. VIII.—1, c.)

(c.) An African example is from the Sechuana language of South Africa, in which the word for 'ten' means 'completion'; eleven is 'completion and one finger up.' The same idea belongs also to the native Polynesian mind; a Samoan incident known to me proves this. Long ago, as a missionary there was passing a certain house, a midwife rushed out of it and said to him, "Now the family is *complete* ('*atoa*')"; "this was the *tenth* child."

(d.) An African people on the west coast says *tan*, 'ten,' which comes from the verb *daña*, 'to be at an end,' 'finished'; one of the Siberian languages has *būd*, 'ten,' and, as a verb, 'to end,' 'to finish,' *bütün*, *bitün*, 'whole, complete, all.' All these words refer to the use of the fingers in counting. The Mincopie speech of the Andaman Islands and that of the Nicobar Islands have *tan-ai*, 'five.'

Proposition XII.—*The Polynesian fulu, 'ten,' means 'the whole' sc. fingers.*

Over the whole Polynesian area the common word for 'ten' is *fulu* or some form of it, simple or compound. I shall first give the variants of this word in all Oceania.

(a.) The plain word *folo* is used in Madagascar, and a longer form *ny-folo*, where *ny* means 'the'; it is therefore said that *ny-folo* means 'the ten'; but as *folo*, *fulu*, in my view, means 'whole,' *ny-folo*, when translated, is 'the whole'—a much more reasonable interpretation. The Samoan 'ten' is *se-fulu*, and other Polynesian forms, as given by Fornander, are *nga-uru*, *nga-huru*, *a-huru*, *se-nga-fulu*, *ho-nga-fulu*, *a-na-huru*, *o-no-huru*, *sa-ng-hul*, *hori-hori*.<sup>\*</sup> His Indonesian forms are *pulu*, *fulu*, *polo*, *so-pulu*, *sa-puloh*, *o-nga-fulu*, *sa-nga-pulu*, *sa-nga-uru*, *ta-nga-furu*.

Wallace has these additional forms for the Malay Archipelago:—*pulah*, *ka-puroh*, *ma-puroh*, *ma-pulroh*, *mo-puru*, and *buso*. Crawford also has a few varieties; as, *puluh*, *pulo*, *folo*, *sam-foor*, *o-ngo-furu*, *nulu*, *doso*, *dasa*, some of which are merely varieties of spelling; *doso* and *dasa* are Sanskritic.

In the Melanesian region, Fiji has *bure* among other words for 'ten'; and in the islands of the New Hebrides the words for 'ten' are chiefly variant forms of the Polynesian *fulu*. Not much importance is to be given to this fact, because, in some of the islands at least and probably most of them, the natives did not count so high as ten; in

\* The Niuē form is *hongo-fulu*.—ED.

many islands, therefore, the forms of *fulu* that are used may be loan-words. But true native words for 'ten' are *kari-lum-kari-lum* (Kwamera of Tanna), which means 'one-hand-one-hand'; *ndua-lima* (Sesake of Emaé), 'two hands'; *na-ro-lem* (Yoku of Erromanga), 'the two hands'; *ra-lim* (Erakor of Efaté), 'two hands.' In some parts of the New Hebrides, peculiar forms of the Polynesian 'ten' occur; as, *im-ta-ga-huru*, *tam-ta-ga-furu*, *ha-ga-vulu*, *hag-wul*, *sa-ga-bur*, *su-nu-vulu*, but all these and others are merely corruptions. It may not be strictly correct to call them all loan-words; for, as I shall presently show, the root-word *fulu* belongs as much to the Melanesians as to the Polynesians. Perhaps, by priority of origin, it was Melanesian before it became Polynesian.

As to the meaning of these syllables prefixed to *fulu* in all Oceania, they seem to me to be sprung from a common mother, *sa-nga-fulu*, 'once-('one-') the-whole' (viz.) fingers; *sa* is the numeral 'one,' *nga* (as in Maori) is the demonstrative 'the,' and *fulu* is 'all, the whole.' If you cast your eye over the Oceanic words which are compounds of *fulu*, you will find that they all resolve themselves, as I have divided them by hyphens, into corruptions of *sa* and *nga* and *fulu*. The word *hori-hori* of Paumotu and some other words are exceptional; *hori-hori* (*hori*=*furu*) seems to me to be 'all-all,' the first *hori* being applied to the fingers of the first hand and the other to the next hand, just as the Mincopies would say *ardūru-ardūru*.

Popular etymologists have hitherto taken *fulu*, 'ten,' to be the same word as *fulu*, 'hair,' because, as they say, a hair was used as a tally!! Sticks and stones must have been scarce when so unsubstantial a thing as a hair had to be used as a tally.

On the south coast of New Guinea, the eighteen districts I have referred to above show no trace of *fulu*. Two of them say for 'ten' *nima-bau-bau*, and *mo-dobo-ima*, which contain *lima*, 'hand,' and evidently mean 'two hands'; two more say *ou-ka*, *ou-a*, which may also be 'two hands,' and one says *o-bua* which appears to be 'the two.' The chief of these dialects, the Motu of Port Moresby, says *qua-ta*, 'ten,' which may be the same as the Polynesian *te-kau*, 'ten.'

In Formosa and the Philippines several words for 'ten' come very near to the root-form of 'five,' *ka*, *kam*; such as *kūma-t*, *kūma-th*, *kun-et-la*, *mat-le*; also *ka-t-ing*, *ke-t-eng*. In them the *kuma* may be the same as the Samoan *uma*, 'all.' These islands have a considerable variety of other words for 'ten,' but the forms akin to the purely Polynesian are:—*polo*, *pulu*, *puru-ku*, *ta-puluk*, *na-polo*, *san-pulu*, *sang-pulo*, *sam-pu*.

The same region—that is, the Philippines, the adjacent Pelew Islands and thereabout—has three very simple words for 'hand,'

*kam*, *kam-ai*, *kam-ot* with which compare the old Assyrian *kham-il-tu* and *kham-sa*, 'five.' These words should go to the Section on the number Five, to which also belong the following analogies with which Mr. Tregear has kindly furnished me, viz.:—New Guinea (Bulaka district), *gima*, 'hand,' *ima-ima*, 'five,' and (Sinangolo district), *ima*, 'hand,' *gima*, 'arm'; New Ireland, *lim*, 'five,' *bra-lima*, 'hand'; Solomon Islands, *rima-rima*, *nima-nima*, 'five'; Maori, *rima*, 'five,' *ringa*, 'hand' and 'arm'; Malay Archipelago, *langan*, 'fore-arm,' *langan*, 'hand'; Macassar, *kamba-o*, 'to take in the fist,' *kam-be*, 'to catch'; North Borneo (Kayan), *kama*, 'the hand'; Hawaii, *aama* (for *kakama*), 'the motion of the hands when a person would seize hold of anything,' 'the act of stealing'; Maori, *kama*, *kakama*, 'nimble,' *katau*, 'the right hand,' *kata-kata*, 'a finger.' Our English word finger comes from the German *fangen*, 'to seize.' Now, in these examples alone there is enough of material to prove the correctness of my analysis of the Polynesian numeral Five as given in Part II.; for the succession of evidence shows itself in the words *kam*, *kam-a* (Borneo), *kham-sa*, *lang-an* (for *lam-an*, the *m* being nasalized); *gim-a*, *lim-a*, *rima*, &c. The Maori for 'right hand' is both *ka-tau* and *ma-tau*, where the *tau* seems to be for *kau* from *kama*.

Further proof of the accuracy of my view of the origin of the words for 'ten' is got from the speech of Tukiok island, where the people say *winunu* when they mean 'ten' men. I cannot find any satisfactory explanation of that word in their own language. No doubt, it looks like the verb *win*, 'to tie together, to tie in a bundle'; the word *winunu* might thus refer to "the bunch" of ten fingers, but that derivation does not account for the termination *-unu*, which is not a formative in the language. Again, *winunu* may be for *in-wunu*, the *in* being a demonstrative prefix used in forming nouns throughout Melanesia. In New Britain, Tukiok Island, and some other places, it is used, not as a *prefix* but as an *infix*, that is, instead of standing at the beginning of the verbal root, it is placed *in* the word and after the first consonant.\* The remaining *wunu* would then be cognate to *bura*, *punnuh*, 'full,' as below at (b). A serious objection, however, to this derivation may be urged; for, so far as I know, this infix is used only for the formation of *nouns* from verbs, whereas *winunu* is a numeral *adjective*. But this objection may be got over by taking *in-wunu* to mean 'the whole,' 'the all'; like *nga-fulu*.

\* It is called an "infix," but it is not really so. In the localities now named, there is a tendency to begin words with a consonant, just as on Aneityum of the New Hebrides the people prefer to say *etman* for *tama-n*, 'father,' to make the word begin with a vowel. In like manner, Tukiok rejects *in-wunu* because it begins with a vowel and transposes the *w* to the front. This is therefore a *metathesis*, not an *infix*. Similar transpositions occur in Samoan and elsewhere.

Light at last, in this difficulty which perplexed me for years, comes from the Melanesian of Efaté, in the New Hebrides. There the word *binunu*, which is evidently the same as the *winunu* of Tukiok Island, means 'complete,' and that is a very suitable ground-meaning for 'ten,' as I have already shown by quoting the words *atoa*, *poro*, and the others. Another proof is the fact that this same island of Efaté has the words *bura*, *biri*, 'to be full,' and *bule* (Fiji, *bure*, 10), *bulu*, *bulu-fulu*, *fulu-fulu*, 'complete,' and, as a verb, 'to finish,' 'to complete.' It has also the numeral *bôn*, *bunuti*, *bunti*, 100, (literally, 'a crowd'), and that word seems to say that the *in* is an infix in *binunu*.

I may here refer to the Hebrew word for 'ten'; it is 'eser, or, without the diacritic points, *gaser*, for the initial letter is the deep guttural *ain*. In his Lexicon, Gesenius says, "Etymologists are mostly agreed that this word is formed from the conjunction of the ten fingers," I would say, *from the conjunction of the two hands*, after the manner of the Admiralty islanders (*q.v.*); for the numeral sign for 'ten' in Hebrew is the letter *yod*, and that name comes from *yad*, 'the hand.' And if the *y* in *yad* represents a primitive *k*, which is possible and even likely, then we are come back to our original root *ka*, *kam*, *kat*, 'to grasp,' (*q.v.*). It is possible also that the Heb. 'eser, 'ten,' that is, *gaser*, is connected with this same pre-Aryan root *ka*, *ga*, or with another primitive root *ka* (whence Gr. *καί*, Lat. *cum*, &c.) in the sense of 'with, along with' and that implies "conjunction." For, 'eser comes from the verb 'asâr, 'to bind together' (cf. the Tukiok *win*, 'to tie together'); the Hebrew 'ten' is therefore 'a conjunction,' 'a combination,' 'a multitude,' with which meaning compare the Efatese *bunu-ti*. Now, in Sanskrit, the root *gam* easily becomes *gams*, *gas*, to which add the Hebrew formative letter *r* and we have *g-s-r*, or, with the points, *gâsâr*, 'eser. And also the syllable *ga*, in the sense of conjunction, turns up in such modern Teutonic words as *ge-birge*, 'mountains' or a chain ('conjunction') of mountains; and it has the same force in such old Gothic words as *ga-with-an*, 'to conjoin.' Here also, in support of the argument that the Hebrew *yad* is connected with the Aryan *gad*, *kat*, I may add that the Germanic prefix *ge* of the past participle of verbs becomes *y* in old English, as in o. Eng. *y-clept*, 'called.'

Therefore, in spite of what some Hebraists say, I am here again of opinion that the Semitic languages have a common heritage in the primitive speech of mankind.

(b.) And now I have to tell you whence, in my opinion, the word *fulu* has come. It is of very ancient lineage, for it has cognates in Melanesian, Papuan, Malayan, and Indian lands, of which cognates the meanings are:—



1. 'Ended'—*poro* (Maori), originally 'cut off'; *paru*, 'full,' 'high.'
2. 'Complete'—*bulah* (Malay).
3. 'All'—*mura* (one dialect of New Guinea); *para*, *vuru* (New Britain).
4. 'Full'—*bura* (Efaté of the New Hebrides); *puro*, the Pâli of India; *punnuh* (Malay); and the Sanskrit verb *pi-par-mi*, 'I fill.' Of course the Greek  $\pi\lambda\acute{\eta}\text{-}\rho\eta\varsigma$ , Lat. *ple-nus*, Eng. 'full,' are connected with the Sanskrit root *par*, but it is not necessary to accumulate examples here.

In completion of this section on Ten, it may be added that the numbers beyond ten, such as 15, 20, 30, etc., are regarded as multiples of five or ten, and that the numerals between are built on these by addition or subtraction. The Sanskrit 'twenty,' *vimṣat* is equivalent to *dvi-daśat*, 'two-tens'; Kashmiri 'fifteen' is *tre-atilang*, 'three hands,' or *dod-zün*, 'one-and-a-half ten'; in Lampong (Malay lands) 'fifty-five' is *sawi-lima*, 'fifty-(and)-hand'; and the Nengonese of the Loyalty Is. says *koni-pi*, 'three hands,' for 'fifteen.' The word *dod-zün* is a modern refinement arising from the spread of commercial relations. Older languages express 'fifteen' by addition; as, Gr. *pente-kai-deka*, 'five-and-ten,' Lat. *quin-decim*, 'five-ten.' The Samoan for 'fifteen' is *e sefulu ma le lima*, 'ten and five,' or *e sefulu ma ona tupu lima*, 'ten and his increase five,' while 'twenty' is *e lua-fulu*, 'two-tens,' and forty is *e fa-ga-fulu*, 'four-times-ten.' I do not know that there is any *vigesimal* system of numeration in Polynesia; at least, I have no examples of it. The counting is by pairs and hands and tens; sometimes the word for 'eight' means 'two-fours,' that is, a 'pair' of fours. Probably this mode of counting was dominated by the fashion of carrying big things in pairs, either over the shoulder or in the hands, such as two cocoanuts.

So far the numeral Ten. But I may here be permitted to add that, whatever the amount of truth you may find in my argument about One, Five, and Ten, they are not borrowed from anyone, and are the product of original research pursued during many years.

In conclusion, I may also refer here to the assertions frequently made that the Polynesian is a portion of a broken Oceanic language unconnected with the other languages of mankind; and that there are no Sanskrit elements in it. On the contrary, I maintain that the Polynesian has intimate relations with the Aryan languages, and in the Samoan Dictionary of my late friend, Mr. Pratt, I have noted scores of words which I can trace to roots found in Sanskrit. And in my contributions to this JOURNAL on the "Malayo-Polynesian Theory," I have shown how absurd it is to say that the Polynesians and the language are Malayan.

I wish here to add a few words regarding the value of such a discussion as this. To many persons, philology is a dry field which can yield little or no fruit; but, in this instance, it is the only means we have of ascertaining the origin of the brown Polynesians. The Samoans, who seem to have been the earliest portion of the Polynesian stock to settle in the islands of the South Seas, cannot tell us whence their ancestors came; they and the Tongans and others can say no more than that they came from the land of Hawaiki, which they place somewhere in the west or north-west. Now, as historical tradition fails to fix their land of origin, we must appeal to ethnography and philology for evidence. The former of these witnesses says that these Polynesians have several customs and manners which link them strongly with south-eastern Asia, while some other customs seem to be shared by American tribes as well.

But the testimony of language, if well established, ought to turn the scale; for, when the words commonly used by any people are found to come from the vocabulary of another language, it is clear that the people in question must have had some intimate connection with that other either by descent or by contact. Our English language, for instance, is cosmopolitan in its vocabulary, but the groundwork of it is easily seen to be Anglo-Saxon; hence the inference that it has a Germanic base. And, if the speech of the Polynesians is proved to have close relations with the old vernaculars of India, we must infer that the first ancestors of the Polynesians were, in some way or other, connected with a people of Indian speech. The most popular theory at present is that the Polynesian language is a branch of the Malayan, because one or two hundreds of simple words are the same in Polynesian as in the Malay. This theory I have written against repeatedly, both in the column of this JOURNAL and elsewhere, and for reasons which will appear further on.

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#### PART IV.—THE HISTORY OF THE QUESTION.

The history of this Malayo-Polynesian controversy is interesting, and may now be given here. Most of the Polynesian languages are not more than seventy or eighty years old, if we reckon from the time when they were first learned by Europeans and committed to writing. How old they are as to their origin no one can tell, although the discussion of this question from year to year may help to solve the problem some day. And that problem is mixed up with another question, also hard to answer—What is the origin of the Polynesian race? Nearly all those who have considered the question agree in saying that the Polynesians, that is, the brown natives of the islands

of the Central and Eastern Pacific Ocean, must have come from Asia, although a few writers of less note have advanced the theory that they came from the west coast of America. The traditions of the Polynesians themselves all point to some region to the west and north-west of them as their ultimate land of origin; and some legends call that land Atia, which may possibly mean Asia, while the Marquesa belief is that their original ancestor came from a far-off Take-he'e-he'e which may merely mean "the starting point." Nevertheless, all Polynesians are agreed that their first land of settlement in their earliest migration—the cradle of the present race—was a land called, like the other, Hawaiki.\* Here again there is no certainty as to the location of Hawaiki, although Savai'i and Manu'a, islands of the Samoan group, seem to have the best claim to that honour. At all events, the bards of Manu'a strenuously assert that their islands, however small they be, take precedence of all others and are the favourite resting place of the great god Tangaloa who dwells in the highest heavens. It is thus obvious that the origin of the race cannot be determined from the evidence of native traditions. Hence the inquirer must fall back mainly on the language for enlightenment and direction in this quest; for, just as sometimes we come to know a man, what sort he is, by the company he keeps, so the language of a race may at least tell us what language their ancestors spoke or with whom the people have since associated. Now it fortunately happens that, as these Polynesians are all islanders, and thus have not been affected by the inroads of people of a different race, their speech has been kept very pure and undiluted, and therefore we can trust its testimony when it is only interrogated.

In 1836, M. Domeny de Rienzi (*Océanie*, tome i, p. 17), who knew Oceania and the Malays well, wrote thus:—"The Malays, who are established in almost all the islands of Western Oceania, seem to belong at once to the Hindoos and the Chinese." In 1837, Moerenhout (J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyage to the Isles of the Great Ocean*, vol. ii, p. 327), who was Consul-General there for the United States of America, says regarding the islands of Oceania,—“Many have observed that the population of the islands of the Pacific Ocean are of the same race as the Malays; for, from Easter Island, 111° W. Long., the most easterly island of Oceania, as far as the Moluccas and other Malay islands, several words are found to be the same in all the islands, as *mate*, 'dead,' *a'u*, 'I,' *ika*, 'fish,' *ua*, 'rain,' *lima*, *rima*, 'five,' *mata* 'eyes,' while their system of numeration is also quite identical, and

\* See "Hawaiki" for the Rarotonga tradition, which is more complete than any. All Fiji, Samoa and Tonga was Hawaiki to the Rarotongans.—See JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, vol. vii-viii.

several of their names for numbers." In 1836-40, Wilhelm von Humboldt, in his book on the 'Kawi,' the ancient language of Java, showed the relationship of the dialects of Eastern Polynesia to the Malay of the Indian Archipelago and the Malagasy of Madagascar. Hence the name Malayo-Polynesian. But this is an unfortunately-chosen name, and should not be used; for it assumes that the Malays and the Polynesians are the same race, although it is clear, even to the eye, that the Malay and the brown Polynesian are, in physique, temperament and customs, very different styles of men, and it is also known that the Malay is only a recent invader of that Archipelago, and is Mongoloid while the Polynesian is not. W. von Humboldt's associate Dr. Buschanam, who continued his work on the study of the languages of the Asian Archipelago, asserted that the islanders there had come from the continent of Asia and are descended from the Tartars.

In 1841, Professor Franz Bopp, of Berlin, published his views on the relationship of the Malay language and the Polynesian. He held that they are, both of them, allied to the Aryan or Indo-European family, which he himself so carefully examined in his *Comparative Grammar*, and, recognising Sanskrit words in both, he said that the Malays had got these words from India, and that the Polynesians also drew these and other words from India, but through the Malays. In 1843 and again in 1849, Professor Ed. Dulaurier, of Paris (*Les langues Océaniques, &c.*) expressed his opinion thus:—"Of this family (*i.e.*, the Oceanian) the Malay and the Javanese are the chief branches; it covers 190 degrees of Longitude; it includes the Bisayan of the Philippine islands and the Malagasy language."—"Science has succeeded in establishing that the migrations of the islanders of Oceania have taken place from west to east, and that the populations form only one family which has a language radically the same, and religious beliefs, which, with some local differences, are fundamentally the same. It is asserted that this language is of Asiatic origin. Everything, therefore, leads us to seek the origin of these Oceanian people in eastern Asia and to trace them to that continent." In 1843, M. Vincendon-Dumoulin (*Les îles Marquises ou Nouka-Hiva*, chap. iii, p. 216), speaking of the inhabitants of the Marquesas says, that their features recall those of the populations of the eastern side of the great continent of Asia; and, in 1862, M. Jules Remy in his *History of the Hawaiian Archipelago* (translator and editor of the *Ka Moelelo Hawai'i*—Introduction, p. xxxix) thus writes:—"Everything makes me lean to the opinion which connects them with Malaysia—an opinion which, apart from facts equally certain, rests besides on analogies of race, language and customs"; see also Raffles' *Description of Java*. Again, the distinguished philologist Hans C. von der



Gabelentz, in his two volumes on *Die Melanesischen Sprachen* (1860-73), declared that he had found traces of a common origin in the Melanesian and Polynesian languages, but his younger brother, Georg, who was also a man of science, thought differently, and so does Dr. A. B. Meyer, *Beiträge der Kenntniss der Melanesischen, Mikronesischen und Papuanischen Sprachen* (Leipsic, 1882).

In our own language, the most important book on the "Polynesian Race" is one in three volumes by the late Hawaiian judge Abr. Fornander, of Maui, Sandwich islands (London, 1878-85). He stoutly maintains that the Polynesian dialects come from a pre-Vedic form of the original Aryan speech, and that the Malay is a recent and adventitious element. He devotes the whole of his third volume to a philological examination of the root-words in Polynesian, with the view of showing that they have near kindred among both the Eastern and Western members of the Aryan family.

Although this is the most recent of English books on the subject, yet the same problem has engaged the attention of English minds for over one hundred years. Ever since Captain Cook returned from his "*Discoveries in the South Seas*," and roused curiosity by bringing with him to England the islander Omai, "that gentle-savage," a strong desire existed there to know more of the islands and their history, past and present; but the War of American Independence and the wars of revolutionary France prevented. During that period of unrest, Johann Reinhold Forster had published in French his "*Observations made in a Voyage Round the World*" (London, 1778). Forster was a German who had settled in England, and, being appointed naturalist, had gone with Cook in his second expedition to the South Seas. In his "*Observations*" he speaks of the Polynesian languages, and says that the existence in them of words which are the same as those in the Malay region does not imply that the eastern Polynesians have come from the Malays, but that both these tongues and peoples proceed from some more ancient race which once held possession of the East Indian islands. It was this theory which W. von Humboldt reproduced with some variations, and which, under the authority of his name has gained currency as "the Malayo-Polynesian theory." Almost the very first words of his work ("*Ueber die Kawi Sprache auf der Insel Java*") are—"Under this name (Malayan) I include the inhabitants of all the islands of the Great Southern Ocean."

The next English authority on the subject is John Crawfurd, the author of the "*History of the Indian Archipelago*." In early life, he had been British Resident at the Court of Java, and had made himself well acquainted with everything about the Malays. In a dissertation attached to his "*Grammar and Dictionary of the Malay Language*" (London, 1852), he entirely rejects the Malayo-Polynesian

descent from a common mother-tongue and race, and holds that Oceania has many distinct and independent languages, their connection with the Malay being superficial and recent. J. R. Logan's *Essays* (circa 1845) on Indonesian subjects I have not seen.

Then I notice the views of Wallace (A. R.) and Keane (A. H.). Wallace in his "*Malay Archipelago*" (London, 1877, seventh edition) takes up a new and very different position. His words are worth quoting:—"The Malayan race, as a whole, undoubtedly very closely resembles the East Asian population from Siam to Manchouria . . . The descriptions of the brown Polynesian race beyond the Fijis often exactly agree with the characters of the brown indigenes of Gilolo and Ceram. It is to be specially remarked that the brown and the black Polynesian races closely resemble each other. Their features are almost identical, so that portraits of a New Zealander or Tahitian will often serve accurately to represent a Papuan or Timorese, the darker colour and more frizzly hair of the latter being the only differences. They are both tall races; they agree in their love of art and the style of their decorations; they are energetic, demonstrative, joyous, laughter-loving; and in all these particulars they differ widely from the Malay. I believe, therefore, that the brown and the black, the Papuan and the Fijian, the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands and those of New Zealand, are all varying forms of one great Oceanic or Polynesian race."

In Stanford's "*Compendium of Geography and Travel*," the volume "*Australasia*" (London, 1879) is edited by Mr. Keane in conjunction with Mr. Wallace. Keane is inclined to agree with Forster's opinion, but thinks that a Caucasian element had a large share in forming both the Malay and the Polynesian races; in Malaysia, the mixture is Mongolian and Caucasian, the latter being the substratum; but the Polynesians are mainly Caucasian.

This, then, is the state of the question. There are four main theories as to the origin of the Polynesian\* races:—(1) The Malays and the Polynesians are two fragments of a disrupted race that once held the Indonesian area; (2) the Malay and the Polynesian races both come from a similar but independent mingling of Caucasian and Mongoloid blood; the Polynesians are mostly Caucasian, but the Malays are mostly Mongolian; (3) the brown Polynesians are Aryan, that is, Caucasian, in their origin and language, and, passing through India from the Aryan home in Central Asia, they occupied Indonesia long before the Mongoloid Malays came there; (4) the black men of Melanesia and the brown men of Polynesia are only two variant forms

\*I need scarcely say that I use the word *Polynesian* always to mean the brown Polynesians in the Islands of the Pacific, east of Fiji.

of the same Oceanic race. All these solutions agree in believing that the Polynesians came from Asia. In addition to these there are a few other theories, which, however, have not met with much acceptance; for instance, (1) it is said that the Polynesians came from America; (2) that Polynesia is one of many centres of the creation of races, and that thus these people have an independent and autochthonous origin; (3) that the Polynesian language is part of an "Oceanic mother tongue" which includes the Melanesian and is founded on Arabic and the other Semitic dialects as a base; (4) to account for the presence of a Polynesian language in Madagascar, it is said that there was once a land connection between that island and Indonesia through the Seychelles and other groups of islands; just as some botanists say that Western Australia and the Cape of Good Hope must have been connected in a similar way because the heaths of their indigenous flora are so much alike.

My view of the Polynesian question is in part the same as Bopp's and Wallace's and Keane's, but with some important differences. It was formed independently many years ago at a time when I was studying a similar question—The origin of the Australian Race, and I think that on my lines of view, both of these questions can be solved, or, at least, made easier. Without entering into details, this view may be explained in a series of Propositions some of which are well-known facts, others of them can be proved, while some of them cannot be proved, but are only legitimate inferences from the facts. Thus:—

1. The earliest occupiers of the soil of India were black, negroid tribes, of which the Dravidians of the Dekhan and some of the scattered Himalayan tribes are now the representatives. This earliest population I call Hamite, because it was more purely negroid than that which came after, namely, the Kushites.

2. Later on, a much-mixed immigration of sons of Ham came in, the Kushites who would be received more or less as friends, for they were of the same race as the Hamites.

3. During the hundreds of years that they remained in sole possession, these two kindred races spread themselves over the whole land, and, being given to wandering like the tribes of Africa, they passed into Trans-Gangetic India and into the island of the Archipelago, where they were the first stratum of population. The purest modern representatives of this migration are the woolly-haired and dwarfish Semangs of the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Mincopies of the Andaman Islands, and the remains of other negroids of nobler stature throughout the Indo-Chinese region. It is probable that Australia received its first inhabitants from these movements—a stream of incomers more closely allied to the negro than its present inhabitants.

4. For these negroid occupants of India, the Aryan invasion, perhaps 1500 B.C. must have been a period of unrest and displacement; for the Aryans were irreconcilably opposed to the negroid "colour" and religion, and waged on them a relentless war, which is celebrated in the great epic poem of the Hindoos, the *Mahabharata*. These convulsions drove the negroid tribes of India into the mountains of the Dekhan, the Sub-Himalayan region, and farther afield into South-eastern Asia and the islands of Indonesia, and into Australia in larger numbers.

than before. Now also, I believe, the black race began to extend into the Pacific so as ultimately to occupy all the islands even as far as Easter Island. It is to this black race I ascribe the Cyclopean remains on Ponape, Kusaie (of the Carolines) and on Easter Island, for that race has often shown a tendency to erect buildings of stupendous size.

5. Those negroid communities and individuals that submitted to the Aryan invaders and remained in the fertile valley of the Ganges, became incorporated with them; and, being overpowered by superior numbers, adopted much of their language and religion. But, among the modern Hindoos in that valley, patches of people are found here and there who are of a much deeper colour of skin and have something like frizzly hair. In these localities the negroid influence has been pretty strong. So also, in certain islands of Polynesia, the people are coarser in every way and of a much darker colour than the ordinary light brown; this, I think, proceeds from the same cause as in India.

6. During this early Aryan period in India, or perhaps before it, Mongoloid wanderers began to penetrate into that country by way of Assam and the mouths of the Brahmaputra; these, mingling with the natives, produced the Kolarian tribes of South-eastern Bengal. Meanwhile, the black Dravidians of the Dekhan were developing into organized and well-regulated communities; and a portion of them on the east coast, the Kalingas, had established, some centuries B.C., an intercourse by sea with Sumatra and Java, where kindred of their own doubtless still were.

7. In process of time, some convulsion in India, or the compulsion of natural increase there, pushed a portion of the Aryanized people of Bengal through Further India into the East Indian islands—Java, Borneo, Flores, Timor, &c. These intruders, being Aryans or semi-Aryans and therefore keen enemies of the negroid natives there, expelled them, or drove them into the mountain ridges, where, in some of the islands, traces of them are still to be found. Most of the expelled, I believe, went into the Papuan and Melanesian islands which were, I think, already peopled, but sparsely, by the black race. Some of these Indonesian blacks may have gone into Australia at this time as a third stream of population.

8. As in India, so in Indonesia; many of the conquered negroid people remained in the coast-lands and became incorporated with the conquerors. Thus arose, as I think, on the coasts of these islands, an Aryo-Melanesian population, bearing marks of an Indian influence and speaking a mixed dialect—being partly Aryan in speech, and of a tawny colour, with features much modified and changed by mixture from the purer negroid type.

9. Some time after this, a much whiter Caucasian race, like the present Khmers of Cambodia, and probably of tall stature, came into the islands from the north and, uniting with the inhabitants, formed the stock from which the present Polynesians have come. Who these white Caucasians were, whether or not they spoke with the Aryan tongue, at what time they came in, I cannot tell, for their coming is merely a conjecture rendered probable by the circumstances. Granted that they came there in the century before the Christian era—a time of unrest in India from the invasions of Bactrian tribes who were Aryans—their chief settlement and home of propagation would be Java, for it is a very fertile island and lies right in the way of those coming from the Peninsula above it. Now, in the name Java or Jawa I see an approach to Hawaiki, the legendary birth place of the brown Polynesians, for in such words the initial *j* is for an original guttural *k* or *g* (as Sanskrit *janu*, 'knee' Gr. γόνυ, Lat. *genu*). Jawa would thus be for Kawa, and that brings us to Kawi, the native name for the Javanese language. The name Kawi is said to mean 'polished,' but it is just as likely that it is taken from an old form of the name for the island. Now, treating Kawa as an Indian name and adding to it an Indian formative, I get Kawa-yi, Hawa-yi, whence Hawa-yi-ki. There may not be much value in this suggestion, but it is the only derivation of Hawaiki that I can



think of. Also see an article 'on Hawaiki' in JOURNAL OF THE POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, vol. vii, viii.

10. If we allow a century or two for this Palaeo-Polynesian race to rest in Java and the other islands and to develop there, we can imagine them beginning to send forth swarms into the Pacific somewhere a little after the beginning of the Christian era. They carry with them a semi-Aryan speech, a tall and robust physique and a brown complexion, from bistre and white combined. If we may judge from the languages on the south coast of New Guinea, some of the swarms settled there, while others may have gone east and south into Melanesia to join the blacks already there, thus giving rise to the Polynesian element in the Melanesian languages. But most of them seem to have passed up by Celebes and the west end of New Guinea into the Philippines and Mikronesia and thence to Samoa, where they planted another Hawai-ki in the name Savai'i. A portion of this Palaeo-Polynesian element may have come into Australia, but had little influence there, for the northern part, at least, of this continent was doubtless well peopled by the blacks already. Nevertheless, we find among our natives even now men of Caucasian physique and features and others of a clear coppery-brown colour, which may also be seen among the negroes of Africa, but as a racial colour.

11. About the twelfth century of our era, a race of Mongoloid origin overran the whole of the islands of the Archipelago. These are the Malays. Like their kinsmen the Chinese, they were adaptive and readily took up many of the customs and words of the Palaeo-Polynesian people around them. This incoming of an alien race must have again set in motion the drift of emigration towards the east, and helped to fill the Eastern Isles.

12. These propositions make clear to my mind the cause of the diversity of type among the Australian blacks and show how it is that the Malays have many words common to them and the Polynesians.

The view which I have now shown is a *new theory*, so far as I am concerned. A brief summary of it is this:—Whereas others maintain that a conspicuous portion of the Polynesian language has come from the Malays, I hold that these words were Polynesian before they became Malayan; that is, that the Malays, when they came into the Indian Archipelago, found a Polynesian language there, from which they borrowed largely. And further, I hold that, in Indonesia, the first dwellers were of the Melanesian stock, that the ancestry of the present Polynesians was grafted on that, and that the Malays are the last and latest settlement there. Thus I account for the well-known fact that the groundwork of the Melanesian languages shows many root-words in common with the languages both of the brown Polynesians and the Malays. Others say that these words came *through the Malays*; I say that *the Malays were the borrowers*.

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## HE TANGI—NO ATI-AWA.

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Kaore te mamae ngau kino i roto ra  
Ki te waka i pakaru,  
Ka paea ki te one taku hou kotuku,  
Te uira ki te rangi,  
Kei te kimi kau au to mana i te ao ;  
Ko Papa-mania, ko Papa-taheke.  
Tiepa o te rangi ! Titoko o te rangi !  
Te Pou o Whatitiri !  
Tawhaki-nui-a-Hema !  
Te mana o te Atua !

A whitikiria to kahu angiangi,  
To maro Whakatau,  
Ki te uru o Tawhiti ;  
A, hinga iho ana ko Tuku-moe-awa.  
Ko Whiro taku pere, kei te koripiripi.

Maunga tu noa te pae ki Whakaahu ;  
Ka ngaro ra e, te maru o te tangata.  
'Tena taku manu no roto i Wharekura.  
Puru o Tainui ! Takere o Aotea !  
A, hikoia mai e te maru wāhine.

E pai taku hoa, te kaka o te waero !  
A hora to mata ! Kapua ki te rangi ;  
E pai ana koe ; he mate ka iri papa,  
Taku komako-rei. Te ata o Whakarewa,  
He unuhanga taniwha.  
Ka moe i te whare na ē.

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## A LAMENT.

(ATI-AWA TRIBE OF TARANAKI, N.Z.)

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COLLECTED BY W. T. MORPETH.

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Alas ! the pain that gnaws my vitals,  
For the broken canoe—for my departed friend ;  
Stranded on the beach is my heron-plume  
Gleaming like the lightning of the heavens.

Vainly I seek thy all-powerful presence in this world,  
 (Thou art gone) by the slippery way, the sliding way (of death),  
 Ornament of Heaven! Supporter of the Heavens!  
 Pillar of (thy ancestress) Whaitiri!  
 (Descendant of) Great Tawhaki-of-Hema!  
 Thou power of the gods!

Gird on thy flowing garment—  
 With thy war girdle (known as) Whakatau,  
 (And show thyself) on the summit of Tahiti.  
 Alas! Tuku-moe-roa has fallen;  
 Whiro, the thief, god of death, pierces and tears me.

Mount Whakaahu on the horizon still stands;  
 (Whilst thou) art lost, thou shelter of man—  
 My singing bird from Whare-kura council house.  
 Plug of Tainui! \* Keel of Aotea! \*  
 Now sung (lamented) over by the company of women.

Beautiful is my friend on the bier in his dogskin mat;  
 Extend thy gaze to the cloud in heaven,  
 (To see his like.)  
 It is well with thee; an unforgettable death.  
 My green breast-ornament! The shade of Whakarewa!  
 (Thy death) is like the coming forth of a *taniwha*!  
 Sleep then in thy house of death.

\* Names of two of the celebrated canoes of the 14th century. "Plug of Tainui," means also one who holds in his hand the power of the Tainui tribes. If he withdraws the plug, war follows.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

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### [150] "The Man in the Moon."

How world wide is the story of "The Man in the Moon."! The Yakuts, who live in Northern Siberia, have a version of this story, as related by Mr. W. G. Sumner, at p. 107, vol. xxxi., "Journal of the Anthropological Institute." He says (quoting M. Sieroshevski):—"When a man dies it is not permitted to his household to execute any work until after the next new moon. The moon itself has a soul and human attributes. It stole an orphan girl who was tormented by her stepmother, who sent her for water in winter barefooted. This girl is now in the moon, with a shoulder-yoke and the pails on her shoulders, and around her grow sand-willows which were stolen at the same time with her. As she grows the moon grows." This is not unlike the Maori story of Rona, who went to fetch water, hurt her foot against a stone, cursed the moon for hiding its light, and was immediately taken up to the moon with her calabashes. See also the Japanese story, Note 94, vol. v., p. 240 of this Journal.—EDITOR.

### [151] The Toa Tree.

The She-oak—*casuarina* of the Australian colonists—is, to my thinking, the most elegant and characteristic tree to be met with in southern latitudes. The marked peculiarity of its dark green succulent and pendulous branches, which are entirely leafless, and which forcibly reminded me of the water-weed seen in English streams, popularly known as "mares' tails." The beautiful and graceful bend of its slender vegetation, so uniform and dense, as seen growing in its native wildness, not crowded by its compeers, or by gums and stringy bark, or other trees, but with grassed spaces between tree and tree, is a sight once seen never forgotten. In *C-equi-seti-folia* we have the duplicate meaning cassowary-like foliage like long horsehair. Can we find any evidence of long ago telling by whom and for what reason its scientific name of *casuari-ina* (for I assume the letter *i* has been elided) was determined. May we assume that a Dutch scientist several centuries ago, was so taken by the likeness of the pendulous vegetation of the tree to the drooping hair-like plumage of the cassowary (*casuari-us*), that he named the tree cassowary-like? We may also ask the meaning of Toa—the Polynesian name for this tree. Did the Polynesian notice its likeness to a struthous bird? In the various Polynesian dialects we find the domestic fowl—*gallus-bankiia*—called at certain places *toa*, but in the majority of other places *moa*. But I am not aware that the tree is anywhere called *moa*. Perhaps the habitat of this tree does not extend to the last named districts? The droop seen in the tail feathers of *toa*, the male of the domestic fowl, certainly have a graceful bend, but taking the *tout ensemble* of



the bird and the tree, I would certainly say that the bird *toa* first known to the Polynesians was either the *casuarius*, or otherwise *moa* the *dinornis*. Some may argue that the hard wood of the *toa* tree being used by the islanders for their weapons, in place of the hard stone of other lands—*toa*=*toka*, a stone, or the "stone-tree."—TAYLOR WHITE.

(With reference to Mr. Taylor's query: the *toa* tree certainly does extend to those islands where the fowl is named *moa*, for instance, Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tonga, and Samoa. It seems to us probable that there is a connection between *toa*, the tree, and *toa*, the warrior, but not between *toa* and *toka*, for both words are common to the same dialects with the difference of meaning retained. In those dialects where the "k" has been dropped, *toa* and *to'a* are pronounced differently, though spelt the same, the "catch" in *to'a* is very pronounced.—EDITOR.)

#### [152] Canoe Making in Olden Times.

Some time ago when walking along the banks of a stream in company with Painetu (an old Maori), I drew his attention to a large partly hollow totara tree remarking that it would with very little labour make a good canoe. "Ae," he replied, "That is the work of the old men" (*na nga kaumatua ra tera*). Further inquiry elicited the statement that it was the practice of the old men of a couple of generations ago to partly strip the bark off likely looking young totara trees in such a manner that as they grew up a portion of the sap would be exposed, and this part would gradually decay and a large hollow result, thus greatly facilitating the work of fashioning a canoe, which in the days of the stone adze must have been very laborious. He further explained that they would thus treat a large number of trees, and if only one or two turned out satisfactorily, then they would have been well rewarded. This was apparently only done to trees in an accessible position. If this statement is correct it would point to more forethought on the part of the Maori and consideration for the interests of his grandchildren than we generally attribute to him. It would also seem to indicate a very long period of peace and continuous settlement. Can you say if this practice was followed in any of the islands? I fancy it must have been a custom of the pre-Maori inhabitants of New Zealand and derived from them.—NAT. J. TONE.

(We never heard of this method of preparing trees for canoe making, but probably some of our readers have, and they will oblige by any information they may have on the subject.—EDITOR.)



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

### POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

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A MEETING of the Council was held on the 10th June, at New Plymouth, Mr. Kerr in the chair, when a considerable amount of correspondence was dealt with.

The following new members were elected :—

342 C. N. Baeyertz, The Octagon, Dunedin, N.Z.

343 A. E. A. Clarke, New Plymouth, N.Z

Papers received :—

240 Christmas Island. H. W. Saxton, F.L.S.

241 Niue Island and its people. S. Percy Smith.

The following Papers, Exchanges, &c., were received :—

1285A *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap.* Deel xxxix.

1286A *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde.* Deel xlv.

1287 *The Geographical Journal.* February, 1902

1288 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.* February, 1902

1289 *Memoirs, Peabody Museum.* Vol. i, No. 6, The Hieroglyphic Stairway at Copan. February, 1902

1290 *Science of Man.* March, 1902

1291 *The Geographical Journal.* March 1902

1292 *Journal, Buddhist Text Society.* Vol. vii., part 2

1293 *Transactions, The Geographical Society of the Pacific.* Vol. 1 series 2

1294 *Luzac's Oriental List.* Vol. xiii., 1 and 2

1294-1300 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona.* Vol. iv., Nos. 6-12

1301 *La Géographie.* March, 1902

1302 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris.* March, 1902

1304 *Bulletin de la Societe Neuchateloise.* Tome xiii., 1902

- 1305 *Archivio per L'Anthropologie de L'Etnologia*. Vol. xxi, 1901
- 1306-7 *La Géographie*. January, February, 1902
- 1308 *Nests and Eggs of Birds found nesting in Australia and Tasmania*.  
Part II. Australian Museum Special Catalogue
- 1309 *Fauna Hawaiiensis*. Vol. iii, part 1
- 1310 *The Geographical Journal*. April, 1902
- 1311 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*. Deel xlv.—  
av. 2. Vol. xxiv., No. 2
- 1312 *The American Antiquarian*.
- 1313 *Summer Birds of Flathead Lake*.
- 1314-15 *Na Mata*. March and April, 1902
- 1316 *Science of Man*. April, 1902
- 1317 *Dagh Registrèr*. Castel Batavia, A.D. 1674
- 1318 *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris*. April, 1902
- 1319 *La Géographie*. April, 1902



## NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,

AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,  
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-  
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED  
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

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BY ELSDON BEST OF TUHOE-LAND.

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### PART III.

WHAKATAUKI : PROVERBS, APHORISMS, ETC., PERTAINING TO WAR.

THERE are many hundreds of proverbial sayings and terse, expressive saws, pertaining to war. Such sayings are much used in speeches, and even in ordinary conversation. We give a few examples.

*“Ka moe te mata hi tuna, ka ara te mata hi taua.”*

The fisherman sleeps, but the watchman is awake—or more literally: the eye of the eel-fisher is closed, but the eye of the *taua* (war party) seeker is open. It is applied to watchfulness in war time, also to wakeful people and early risers.

*“He toa taua, he toa pahekeheke ; ko te toa nyaki kai, e kore e paheke.”*

He who is but a warrior will fall, but he who is brave in the cultivation of food will flourish.

*“He toa taua, mate taua ; he toa piki pari, mate pari ; he toa ngaki kai, ma te huhu tena.”*

The warrior and the cragsman shall die violent deaths, but the husbandman to the worm—i.e., the latter will die a natural death.

*“He wahine, he whenua, e ngaro ai te tangata.”*

Through women and land are men lost. These are the most usual causes of war.



"*He kotahi na Tane-whare-rangi, e raka te mau, e raka te katau.*"

Applied to a man who uses his weapon equally well either left- or right-handed. Tane-whare-rangi was very clever in the use of weapons with both hands. *Raka: te rakanga o nga waewae, he māmā ki te tahuri*—active, agile in turning.

"*Tuhoe mounou kai, mounou taonga, mounou tangata ki te Po.*"

Tuhoe, wasters of food and property, destroyers of mankind. A tribal saying of the Tuhoe or Urewera tribe, applied to themselves.

"*He iti na Tuhoe, e kata te Po.*"

A few of Tuhoe and Hades shall laugh. Although a small tribe numerically, yet the war parties of Tuhoe achieved fame.

"*Kaua tatou e tukua kia mate a whare, engari kia mate a ururoa.*"

Let us not linger on and die of old age, rather let us die as does the shark, fighting to the last. Sometimes abbreviated thus: "*Me mate a ururoa te tangata.*" Let man die like the shark.

For the Maori warrior of old held a natural death in contempt, even as our forefathers of Gothland did.

"*Kaua e whakapaia te moenga, kei warea e te moe. Me moe ki te wahi pakiaka, kia ohooho ai, kia rere ai i te taua, kia hemo ai.*"

Do not make your bed comfortable, lest you sleep too soundly. Rather sleep on rough ground, that you may waken easily and thus escape the war party.

"*Me kawe ki Whare-kura, ki te ururua.*"

Go and fight at Whare-kura where men are plentiful. Whare-kura was a large fortified village at Ohiwa. Do not bother about attacking small places.

"*He maurea kia whiria.*"

A similar saying to the above. Select the *maurea*, do not bother about the common weeds. The *maurea* is a kind of rush whose reddish culms were used for making ornamental belts. It is said to a war party which arrives at a small, or friendly village. Do not turn your weapons against us, but go on and attack the chief place, where the leading men are.

"*Mo Tu-muriwai te kupu, tau ke te patu ki a Tu-te-kohe.*"

It was arranged that Tu-muriwai should be killed, but the weapon fell on Tu-te-kohe. The former person had been guilty of using grievously insulting remarks, but somehow the latter was killed instead. Used when an innocent person is slain or punished.

When Whakarau, the youngest son of Hine-tapuarau, slew Tu purupuru at Turanga, one Kahu-tauranga wanted to rush in and despatch Tu as he was in the death struggle. But Whakarau said

“*Waiho i kona te ika a te aho a te potiki a Hine-tapuarau kahakihaki ai.*” Leave the fish of the line of the child of Hine-tapuarau tugging there—a much plagiarised saying which is often met with.

“*Taputapu-atea, kia ngohi i te iti, kia ngohi i te rahi.*”

Said to be a contemptuous remark made by warriors who are asked to share their booty (bodies of slain).\*

“*Taka mua, taka muri.*”

This expression is applied to men who are related to both sides in a war. Such persons, termed *taharua*, are often spared in battle. They change, as it were, from one side to the other, and often acted as go-betweens in war. When Tuhoe were fighting Te Arawa at Te Arika, Tokai of the former tribe saw among the latter one Tionga, a relative of his, whom he wished to save from death. He therefore cried out to him: “*Tionga E! Taka mua, taka muri!*” — meaning that he should fall back. But Tionga despised the friendly warning and was slain.

“*Honoa te hono a te kiore.*”

Follow each other quickly as the rat does—*i.e.*, when attacking the enemy. Do not straggle. This saying was first used by Karetehe when fighting Te Tini-o-Toi, at Owihakatoro.

“*Naku te ake i waiho i te whare, mehemea kua mauria mai e au, kua kite koe i te makahua kai tangata o Whakatane.*”

Miné was the weapon left in the house; had I but brought it with me, then would you have felt the man-roasting stones of Whakatane. This remark was made by one Tama-i-whana when surprised by enemies, he having left his weapon in the house. The stones termed *makahua* are used in heating the native steam ovens.

“*Ko te moe a te manu, au ana te moe ki te peka o te rakau. Ko te moe a te tangata tutakarerewa tonu i te taua.*”

Birds sleep sound and peacefully upon the tree branch, but man, he is ever wakeful and in dread of enemies. This saying illustrates the constant state of suspense in which the natives formerly existed. No man might know when or where a hostile force might appear. Though apparently at peace with surrounding tribes, yet one of them might have heard of some slighting expression uttered, or resurrect an injury of bygone generations—and the result would be an arming for the fray.

“*Me te weka ka motu i te mahanga.*”

Like a *weka* escaping from the snare of the fowler. Said of an escaping prisoner, or survivors of a beaten force in flight.

\* This is possibly a very old saying from pre-migratory times, and would refer some law in force at the celebrated *marae* of Taputapu-atea in Hawaiki.—ED.

*"Te rahui kawau ki roto o Wairau."*

The flock of shags at Wairau. An expression applied to the survivors of the Waikare-moana people who, when pursued by Tuhoe, flew from place to place around the Wairau arm of the lake.

*"Te pokai marearea."*

The shoal of whitebait. Applied to the Ngati-Rongo people by Ropata Te Wahawaha. They flew up the Whakatane river on his approach, like a shoal of *marearea* flies before the net fishers.

*"Kiki a waha ta Rakai-hakeke, to te ta whakarere ta Rakai-weriweri."*

These men were ancestors of Ngati-Awa. The former threatened to kill the latter, who, however, by means of a sudden blow, slew his threatener. This expression is used in cases where the tables are turned, as above.

*"Waiho i kona te tangata o te pākā maroke."*

Leave the man of the dry birds alone. The Maunga-pohatu tribe were asked to assist the Rua-toki people in war. They went and helped to defeat the enemy. A feast was held and the Rua-toki people gave their guests the dry, inferior *huahua* (preserved birds), which much incensed the latter, who, when again asked to assist their hosts in fight, gave the above reply. The expression is often heard among the Tuhoe people.

Similar to the *pākā maroke* saying is the wider known one:

*"Karanga riri, ka karangatia Paeko; karanga kai, tē karangatia Paeko."*

In war Paeko is called upon, but when food is ready he is not called.

*"Wairoa tapoko rau."*

Wairoa engulfs myriads. In olden times whenever a party of the Tuhoe people visited Te Wairoa they were pretty sure to be either attacked or bewitched, from which two causes Tuhoe have lost many men in that district.

*"Whatu ngarongaro he tangata, toitu he whenua."*

Man passes away, but the land endures for ever.

*"Te tohu takoto a Ngai-Te-Riu."*

This refers to an incident of the Tuhoe-Arawa war of three generations ago. When the Tuhoe league attacked the Arawa forces at Rere-whakaitu lake, the Ngai-Te-Riu division of the former tribe took no part in the fight, for some reason unknown to me. Possibly, like unto the MacGregor, they had been deprived of the post of honour, and resented the act. These sayings are often heard among the natives, albeit the ancient war trails are deserted of man.

*"Haere! Kia hiki ai koe i nga kuri a Pohokorua."*

A saying applied to the famed warriors and runners of Tuhoe, who moreover possessed magic powers to increase their speed, even so that no man might escape them, flee he never so swiftly.

"*Haere ra! E tama E! Mou te tai ata, moku te tai po.*"

Farewell! O son! You pass with the morning tide, even as I will pass with the evening tide. An expression often used in war when a man saw a relative or friend slain. The remark was often prophetic of the speaker's fate.

"*He urunga tangata, he urunga panekeneke.*"

A human pillow is an unsteady one. Do not rely too much on the assistance of others, but rely chiefly on your own efforts.

Again, in advising a small tribe to take refuge with a powerful one, or to go and dwell in a forest country, a chief would say: "Go to so-and-so, or to such a place, to the pillow which moves not."

When Ngati-Awa assaulted the Otipa fort, and expelled the people of Warahoe from those fair pumice lands, they returned home by way of Toki-tareke, another fort of that tribe. As they marched beneath that stronghold, Te Rangi-ka-wehea of Ngati-Awa called to the inmates of the *pa*: "Go forth you people, and join the fleeing survivors of your friends." A chief of the garrison replied: "Yes! We will migrate to O-potiki." Te Rangi said: "*Kaua e haere ki O-potiki, he ihu waka taua. Waiho i Taupo, i te urunga tē taka, i te patu tē hurihia*"—i.e., Do not go to O-potiki or you will be slain by prowling enemies. Let Taupo be your home, the pillow which moves not, and whose weapons will not be turned against you.

A famous saying in this district is: "Do not linger by the fire of Pawhero." This Pawhero was an ancestor, who was once travelling with a party of his people. They stopped to cook food. His companions started off again at once, calling to Pawhero to come also, lest an enemy appear. But Pawhero lingered by the warm embers, saying: "*Kia manaakitia te ranga o te ahi*"—i.e., He wished to take full advantage of the warmth thereof. His companions started off, but Pawhero stayed and was surprised and slain by enemies. It is well to remember the fate of Pawhero.

"Nothing but the rain of heaven shall descend upon you." Said by Te Whatanui when he promised protection to the miserable remnant of Mua-upoko.

"*He maunga tiketike, ka taea e au; he tangata tiketike, e kore e taea.*"

A lofty mountain I can negotiate, but not so a lofty man. This saying was quoted by Te Au-ki-Hingarae, when asked to join in an attack upon Te Whaiti. It was the *pa ti* episode (explained elsewhere). He could not attack people to whom he was related.

We will now cease repeating the saws of old. Although they are numbered by thousands, yet will the above give a fair idea of their general import. In like manner the terse sayings in regard to hunting, cultivation, &c., &c., are as the sands of the sea shore.



## TERMS AND EXPRESSIONS PERTAINING TO WAR.

But there are various words and terms used in regard to fighting and war customs, which it will be as well to explain.

“*Umanga nui.*”

This is an expression applied to birds and war. It would appear to mean ‘big breasted,’ the *uma* or breast being the most important part of a pigeon as regard to the quantity of food it furnishes. A bird must be speared in the breast to make sure of securing it. The term *tarauma nui* bears the same application. Also both are applied to war as: “*Te umanga-nui o nehera ko te whawhai*”—i.e., War was the principal occupation or business of old. The *uma* or *tarauma* (breast) of a bird is most important, as was war to the men of yore. (See A.H.M., vol. iii, p. 34, for use of this word).

“*Kanohi kitea.*”

The literal meaning of this term is ‘the seen face.’ It is applied to a chief who raids the lands of another tribe: his face is seen where he has no business to be, at least in arms. A famous instance of this was the “*Te kanohi kitea a Tai-hakoa ki roto o Rua-tahuna*”—i.e., the ‘seen face’ of Tai-hakoa within the vale of Rua-tahuna. This Tai-hakoa was a chief of the Taupo natives, and who raided the Rua-tahuna valley in the early part of last century. This was a dire insult to Tuhoe, who, in return, slew Tai-hakoa at Ariki-rau, and marching on Taupo defeated those people at Orona. Then the chiefs of Tuhoe said: “*Ka ea te kanohi kitea o Tai-hakoa ki roto o Rua-tahuna*”—the ‘seen face’ of Tai-hakoa at Rua-tahuna is avenged. In like manner the *kanohi kitea* of Hape of Ngati-Manawa at Tahuaroa led to the undoing of that old cannibal, and the fall of Oputara pa.

“*Uru whakaara.*”

Literally the ‘raised up head.’ This term is applied to a people who, having been defeated in battle, or having lived as vassals, dare to raise their heads and defy or attack their conquerors or masters. The slaying of the wife and child of Māro of Tuhoe by Ngati-Mahanga of Te Whaiti was an *uru whakaara*, and ended disastrously to the children of Mahanga.

“*Purahorua.*”

A messenger who is despatched secretly to carry important news when it is not desirable that the whole tribe should know of the matter. Te Ao of Ngati-Awa was a *purahorua* when he was sent to warn Tuhoe that Ngati-Awa were marching against them. *Karere* is a term applied to an ordinary messenger whose errand is known to all.

“*Pae o te riri*” or “*Pae ara riri*.”

When a war party starts out on a raid, they may camp the first night at the village of a friendly people—that camp is the *pae o te riri*, *i.e.*, the threshold of war.

“*Te Whare o te riri*.”

This might be literally translated as ‘the house of war.’ It really stands for bravery. Warriors who are of noted bravery, and skill in the conduct of war—such men are termed ‘*te whare o te riri*.’ When Colonel Whitmore’s Arawa contingent were chasing the rebels of Tuhoe at Rangi-horo (Rua-tahuna) some Ngati-Pikiao of the force wished to save their chief Himiona Te Piki-kotuku, who was among the rebels, and bring him over to the Government side. They called to him to come in and give himself up. He called out to them from the forest: “*Te iwi E! Ko ahau te whare o te riri!*” They then knew that he meant to fight on.

The expression: “*Ka tuhera te tawaha o te riri, kaore e titiro ki te ao marama*” would mean “War is declared, we look not upon the world of life. The warriors are warring at the very Gates of Hades, through which many shall pass.

“*Ika hui rua*.”

This means the slaying of two men together, at one and the same place, as a powerful man might do with a double-handed blow. An *ika hui rua* fell to the lot of Te Purewa (also known as Tautahi) at the battle of Puke-kai-kāhu, where he slew Te Waha-kai-kapua and Tionga of Te Arawa. Looking down upon the bodies he said: “*Waiho i kona te ika hui rua a te tautahi a Kokamutu*”—Lie there the *ika hui rua* of the lone (or only) son of Kokamutu.

The word *ika* is used in most peculiar ways. It seems to mean ‘prey’ in some cases, though generally given the ordinary meaning of ‘fish.’ *Te Ika-a-Tu* (the fish of Tu—the supreme war god) is a term applied to the bodies of those killed in battle.

“*Ika-a-Whiro*.”

This term is applied to an old and proved warrior.

“*Arero whero*.”

This is a term applied to warriors, *i.e.*, full-grown fighting men who have seen service in the ranks of Tu and are blooded to his service. *Kua paru te ringa ki te toto*—their hands have been soiled with blood. The *arero whero* are not necessarily *Ika-a-Whiro*—the two terms are by no means synonymous.

“*Ati a toa*.”

This term is applied to *tai tamariki*—*i.e.*, youths, who have not yet entered the class of the *arero whero*.

The word *whakamirei* means to act in a hostile manner, to stand up and defy a person :

“Tenei to kiri kei te whakamirei  
Tangaroa kiri uka.”

“*Uwhiuwhi taua.*”

This term denotes a shower of rain encountered by a war party while on the march. It was looked upon as rather a good omen, inasmuch as wet, misty, foggy weather was considered favourable to an attacking party, as the enemy would probably be off their guard. When Ngati-Rua and others were marching on Otenuku *pa* at Rua-toki, they encountered a rain-squall at Te Waimana. Te Ripaki, a chief, said : “ Let us return.” Hine-auahi replied : “ Not at all. Do you not know that ‘ *He ua ki te po, he paewai ki te ao* ’—‘ When it rains at night the eel may be taken ’ ; the eel in this case being the fort of Otenuku. And the eel was taken.

“ *Patu whakairi.*”

The suspended weapon. The meaning of this is obvious, it means to have a person or people at one's mercy, and to hold them in one's power by means of the uplifted weapon.

“ *Kapo.*”

This word means to clutch, but in one sense it is to clutch something immaterial, viz., an insult. If a person hurls an insulting remark at another, and it is not convenient for the latter to avenge it at the time, he raises his arm above his head and closes the fingers as if clutching an object.\* This means that he takes up the gauntlet and will attend to the matter later on. But he speaks no word at the time. If a man wished to give the same meaning in spoken language, he would not *kapo*, but would utter some terse saying, such as : “ *Mo a muri, mo a nehe.*” After the tribe of Tapoto was so severely handled by Tuhoe, the latter performed a *haka* dance at Ruatoki, which was followed by one from Tapoto's people. Tapoto himself appearing in front of the performers, and going through the hideous grimaces and singular contortions known as *whākāpi*. Tai-turakina of Tuhoe said : “ *Kia ea rawa te mate o tama-nyarenyare ka puta ai ki mua whākāpi ai.*” When the defeat of the base one has been avenged it will be time enough for him to dance. This was a jeer (*taunu*) at Tapoto, who at once raised his arm and gave the *kapo*. And when, in the days that lay before, Tapoto and his men-at-arms returned to Rua-toki, they made matters interesting to the denizens of that sylvan vale.

“ *Poke.*”

The term *poke* or *popoke* means to double bank an enemy—i.e., when two or three men attack one person. In the fighting which long raged

\* See an instance of this, JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, vol. ix, p. 157.—ED.

at Rua-toki, several of Tapoto's party attacked Pa-i-te-rangi and would have slain him, had not Tapoto interfered, and arranged a single combat with spears between himself and Pa. The word *purau* bears the same meaning as *poke*.\*

“*Peke-kiwi*.”

Means to strike many blows without doing any execution ; a wild fighter. *Peke pakihiwi* denotes an able and self-contained fighter who never wastes a blow, and needs to strike a man but once to disable or slay him.

When, on a calm night, you hear a tree fall in the forest, that is a parlous omen—death or disaster is abroad. Should several trees be so heard to fall—disaster is about to overtake the tribe. This omen is termed a *takiari*.

The term *whākākā*, as used in war, means : to incite, to influence, to fan the flame of war. The word *kōpī* or *manawa kopī* means timid or fearful, as in war, but does not apply to ordinary fear or fear of supernatural beings or ghosts (*whakahaehae* or *kehua*). *Whakapua* means to signal by means of smoke—a common practice in war and peace. *Rotarota* is to signal with hands, or by waving the arms. The terms *pirorehe* and *tou-piore* are applied to persons who are indolent, inactive, or cowardly. In speaking of the fall of the Papa-kai *pa* (fort) at Te Kakari, a native said : “The warriors and brave men escaped ; the *pirorehe* perished”—i.e. only the men of courage broke through the surrounding force.

Two singular expressions heard in tales of war are *pa ti* and *pa harakeke*. The word *pa* means an obstruction, a fortified place, a barricade, to obstruct ; also, a flock, or clump, or collection. *Ti* is the cabbage tree (cordyline of several species). *Harakeke* is the New Zealand flax (so called). A literal translation gives no hint of the meaning of these terms. They are examples of the singular figurative and metaphorical expressions so common to the Maori tongue. It is in this wise :

After their defeat at Te Kauna, Ngati-Awa tried to square accounts with Tuhoe. They raided the Tauranga valley, where they lost three killed. Tuhoe swooped down on the Ngati-Awa country, and took the fortified villages of Te Karetu, Mimiha-nui and Te Tahana. Ngati-Awa and others fell upon the Nga-huinga settlement above Fort Galatea, killing Te Tawhi and other relatives of Koura. Then Koura built Pa-matangi, a fort, at Nga-putahi, and started in to exterminate

\* No doubt Mr. Best is right as to technical meaning here given, but originally *poke* is to be “enveloped,” “surrounded,” “overtaken,” “overwhelmed,” which is seen in the expression : *Kei pokena tatou e te wairua*, Lest we be overtaken by the spirit, ghost, &c.—Ed.



Ngati-Whare, who had taken part in the killing of Koura's nephew at Nga-huinga; and worse still, the fat of Te Tawhi's body had been used as a special food at the *tuatanga* (ante) of Te Tuhi. Koura prepared a bush feast, and invited the Tuhoe clans to partake thereof, and at that meeting he rose and spoke: "Ye chiefs of Tuhoe! My remark to you is this—that the fire which burns within the vale of Te Whaiti be extinguished." By this singular remark he meant that he wanted their assistance in order to exterminate the Ngati-Whare tribe of Te Whaiti. The chiefs of Tuhoe made answer: "Your proposal had been well, had not the *pa ti*, the *pa harakeke*\* grown up at Te Whaiti"—meaning that several Tuhoe women had married into Ngati-Whare and were living there with their children, and in destroying Ngati-Whare they would be slaying their own relatives. Even so, that assembly crumbled away, and the fire still burned in the Whaiti valley, and the *pa ti* flourished. *Pa* means a clump or flock; *pa harakeke*=clump of flax; *pa heihei*=flock of fowls.

Many sententious sayings are ascribed to chiefs at critical times, as when they are informed of the approach of a powerful enemy, &c. It was a bad day for the Ngai-Tahu chief who, when he heard of Te Rau-paraha's conquests, said: "If Rau-paraha sets foot on my lands I will rip him open with a shark's tooth." He paid for those words by the defeat of his tribe, and by himself being hung up by the heels, while his captors drank his blood from a severed artery.

When Haeana, of the original people of the upper Rangitaiki, heard of the powers of Tangi-haruru, who was advancing to attack him, he remarked: "Let him come. He shall be welcomed by the wood-rending parrots of Haeana." But the rending process seems to have been done by Tangi-haruru, albeit he was afterwards slain by his enemies at Puke-hināu.

A peculiar expression is "*puta te ihu*," which means to come forth from the house of death, to escape misfortune, death or disaster. Speaking of the disastrous defeat of Ngati-Whare by Tuhoe, a native said: "The prisoners were taken to Rua-tahuna; they were treated well, a *ka puta te ihu*, and were then returned to Te Whaiti."

"*Awhenga*."

This term is applied to a broken tribe, or possibly enemies, sheltered from a feeling of pitying contempt. *Awhe* means "to gather up into a heap," or "to encircle." In befriending a respected people the term *auhina* (to assist, benefit, befriend) would be used.

That peculiar term *tama-wahine* has, for one of its meanings, timidity (*hungoï*) shown by a man before battle. He is fearful of

\* It is a query if this *pa* is not really the Eastern Polynesian collective verb, such as *pa whare*; a collection of houses.—ED.

being killed, therefore he will be killed if he joins in the fight. For such is the philosophy of the Maori.

"*Parekura*" is the common term for a battlefield, but the terms *puta* and *tahuna* bear the same meaning.

"*Au māro*" implies bravery; courage in war. The expression might be translated literally as "strong current."

"*Riri manahanaha*" means to fight in the open, neither side concealing themselves.

"*Tō kumu*" is a term implied to either a coward or a lazy man.

#### REVENGE.

The intensely revengeful nature of the old time Maori will need profuse illustration; so many byways does the subject lead one into. We will endeavour to throw a little light on some of those byways.

The origin of blood vengeance is assigned by the natives to the misty epoch when demigods and heroes walked the earth and performed wondrous deeds. The first *ranaki mate*, or death avenged, was that of Takotako, whose son Tawhaki ascended to the heavens and obtained the services of the *ope kuri*, the hounds of the sky regions, by whose aid were defeated Te Tini-o-te-Makahua and Te Papaka-wheoro, the tribes by whom Takotako had been slain.

Another early instance of revenge is given by the descendants of Te Tini-o-Awa, the original people of the Ngati-Awa district of the Bay of Plenty. When Rongo-maui, husband of Pani, went afar off to Whanui (the star Vega) in order to obtain the *kumara*, or sweet potato, he was denied them by Whanui. Rongo, however, contrived to steal some of the *kumara*, and brought them back with him to this world. Whanui obtained revenge for this theft by despatching an army which consisted entirely of insects—the *anuhe* (a caterpillar), the *moka* (a caterpillar), and the *toronu*, which struck at Rongo-maui through the *kumara*, of which they destroyed many.

Another origin, or ancient illustration, of our subject, was the late unpleasantness between Tutu-nui and Hine-porete.

Tutu-nui toiled in the fields and made him a fine cultivation of the *kumara*. But the land which he had cultivated belonged to Hine-porete (ancestor or origin of the *porete*=parroquet) who brought the flocks of her kindred in order to gain satisfaction, which they secured by means of pulling up all the *kumara* plants. Tutu-nui set to work and caught and slew many of Hine-porete's followers, but Hine obtained revenge by slaying Tutu-nui. As he was passing under a tree the weapon of Hine-porete descended upon him. In after ages the descendants of Tutu-nui avenged their ancestor's death by slaying great numbers of the offspring of Hine-porete.

We will now turn from these mythopoetical illustrations and deal with stern facts.

An army or war party whose object is blood vengeance for injuries received is known as a *taua toto*, or *taua hiku toto*. The ordinary name for an army or war party is *taua*, or *ope taua*. *Whaka-ariki* is an invading army. To avenge a death by blood vengeance is *piki toto*. *Huki toto* and *hiku toto* bear the same meaning. The expression *huki toto*\* is used in several ways. In olden times when a man was slain, revenge was often obtained by means of witchcraft (*makutu*). A portion of his blood would be scooped up on a stick (*ka hukia te toto ki te rakau*) and taken away in order that it might be used as a medium between the spells of the wizard and the object, i.e., the man to be bewitched.

When a young native was killed by a rolling log at a saw-pit on the road-works at Rua-tahuna, his companions were afraid to continue working there, the blood of their friend was upon the spot, rendering it *tapu*. Therefore the grandfather of the dead youth proposed to *huki* the blood, to free the place from *tapu* by removing a portion of the blood, which portion would, as it were, represent the *tapu*.

Once upon a time Te Purewa and a party of Ngati-Rongo left Rua-tahuna in order to proceed to Waikare-moana. Some slaves of the party killed a tame pig and left the entrails thereof just below the Ngati-Rawa village at Te Pohue, in order that those people might be charged with the foul deed, which in truth they were. But some bright-witted fellow proceeded to *huki* the blood, and sent the stick to Te Purewa, who, by using this as an agent in his arts of divination, succeeded in detecting the slayer of the luckless porker.

A sworn enemy, a subject of undying enmity and of blood vengeance, is known as a *tama-a-hara* in Tuhoe and among some tribes as *ito* or *uto*. (*Tama-a-hara*, cf. *māuāhāra* = to cherish ill-feeling).

When Titirahi, of Ngati-Awa, was slain at Te Kauna, Te Au-ki-hingarae of Tuhoe called out: "*Homai taku tama-a-hara kia kainga*"—give me my *tama-a-hara* that I may eat him. But the body of Titirahi, albeit that of an enemy, was too *tapu* to be eaten, although it was cooked as an act of degradation.

After the *Pu taewa* of Te Whaiti, aided by Justice's justice, had failed Makurata of Tuhoe, some of the latter tribe came to Te Whaiti. They passed the *Pu taewa*, who were working among their crops, in ominous silence, although the *Pu taewa* cried them welcome in manner most effusive. The only reply made by Tuhoe was by a woman, who

\* See A.H.M., vol. ii, p. 49.

cried : “ *Mahia taku tama-a-hara, taihoa koutou ka kite.*” \* And the *Pu taewa* hung their heads amid a great silence. For it was an *uru whakaara*, the iron hand of Tuhoe had lain heavy upon Te Whaiti for four generations of men.

“ *Purapura ora.*”

This is an old expression meaning the ‘living seed.’ If a man were slain by weapon or witchcraft, the living seed, *i.e.* his children or descendants, would avenge his death. It was a source of great satisfaction to the Maori of yore to know, as he passed from this life, that he left offspring to avenge any insults or injuries that he had not been able to attend to. In some cases a special injunction was laid upon the sons to make it their life’s task to avenge some injury. Indeed, newly born children sometimes had the *tūā* rite (see ante) performed over them in a special manner, *i.e.* with appropriate dedication to the service of revenge (*ka tuatia hai ngaki i te mate*). When Te Ramapakura was slain, his child Manu-kai-huarua was thus dedicated in the *tūā* rite, baptised to the service of revenge. The combined *tūā* and *oriori* chanted over Manu is as follows :—(It was sung as a lullaby to the child).

“ E Tu whiri nuku. E Tu whiri rangi—e  
Tutakina te uru tapu no Tu ki te rangi—e  
Ko wai te tamaiti e tangi koingo nei  
I roto i te whare  
Ko Manu-kai-huarua  
Ra whea mai to ara ki a Tu  
Whakatauirā ake koe i to waenga kahui a papa  
Kai tu, kai haere  
Ko tama i nohoia (e) te whatu—e  
Korikori kia horo, kia horo te tahuti  
Kei pehia koe e te anu o Taku  
Nau ka taka kino mai i te Tahi o Pipiri  
Te whakaarohia e koe he waenga tau  
Ka puta te ropu a Wharo, ka peka mai ai koe  
Kia ata whakaputa i te ngaru putuputu  
Kai pehia koe e te tai whenewhene  
Maku i te wai—e  
Rukuhia, E tama ! Te ruku a te kawau  
Kia ea ake ana nga one teatea  
I raro Whariki-toetoe  
Noho ana koe i to taumata i O-tu-koingo  
Ka whakarongo  
Takoto ra to taringa ki te hikihihi  
Tangi ra runga o Tihetihe  
Ko tai whanui ra tena, E tama !  
Ko te ngakinga mate o Tu-whakararo  
Hoki mai, E tama !  
Kai whakahuatia koe ki te kino

\* *i.e.* Persist in your evil work. You will pay for it ere long.



Ki atu, E tama ! He kino mata whaiti  
 I tu mai ai koe i te turanga whatu  
 I a Rongomai

He kawa taua ra ka he i te awatea  
 He waewae ka takoki,  
 He rakau ka makere i te ringa  
 Puritia, E tama ! kia mau te pupuri  
 Tuaomatia nga raorao  
 Ka takoto i raro Mania-tutu  
 Ka tika tutaki koe ko Te Rama-apakura  
 Heuea i te kahu !  
 Whakatika, E tama ! kia horo korua  
 Kai kiia mai koe ki te iwi pau te ai  
 He tapekatanga korero ma tama e noho ai  
 Ki te nohoanga pahi  
 Ka mate tama i te whakama—e

E tuhiti reia, tonga reia  
 E tu te whakaangi rauihi, E tama !  
 Kia puta ai koe ki te whai ao,  
 Ki te ao marama—nā."

"O Tu—earth shaker, O Tu—heaven shaker,  
 Close up the sacred summit of Tu in the heaven.  
 Who is this child that sorrowfully cries  
 Within this house ?  
 'Tis Manu-kai-huarua !  
 By which road shalt thou follow in Tu's way ?  
 Take (not) example by the companies of earth !  
 That stand (not) nor go forth.  
 (Thou art) a child endowed with heart of stone,  
 Exert thyself and be fleet, fleet to escape,  
 Lest thou be borne down by the chill of Taku (war)  
 Thou comest (art born) in the first month of winter (war)  
 Why did'st thou not consider this is the middle of strife  
 When the ranks of Wharo are abroad ; thou comest,  
 Be careful to escape the closely following waves,  
 Lest thou be overwhelmed by tumultuous seas,  
 And be drenched in the waves of war.  
 Dive then, O Son ! with the *kawau's* dive,  
 And come up again on the white beach (of safety)  
 Below there at Whariki-toetoe,  
 Where thou shalt rest on the brow at O-tu-koingo,  
 And earnestly listen,  
 Open wide thy ears to the uprising cry  
 Of the wail that comes over Tihetihe,  
 'Tis like the broad ocean (of war), O son,  
 As at the avenging of Tu-whakaroro's death.  
 Return then, O son !  
 Lest thou obtain an evil reputation.  
 Say, O son ! 'Tis but the evil of peace  
 That thou standest in the ranks  
 Of Rongomai, god of peace.

The baptism of war may fail (even) in daylight,  
 The foot may fail by a sprain,  
 A weapon may fall from the hand.  
 Hold tight, O son! Fast be thy grasp.  
 When thou coursest over the plains  
 That lie below at Mania-tutu  
 Where indeed shalt thou meet Te Rama-apakura,  
 Throw off thy garment!  
 Arise, O son! and hasten with him,  
 Lest thou be accused as of a degenerate race,  
 And false stories told of thee  
 When thou joinest the company of chiefs,  
 And thou wilt die of shame.

When the angry winds of war are laid  
 Then comes the time of unsettled mind, O son!  
 But thou shalt come forth to the world of being—  
 To the world of light."

We will now give some illustrations of divers curious customs of obtaining revenge, as suitable for those who were unwilling, or unable, to exact blood vengeance.

A defeat is sometimes avenged by means of the rite known as *umu parapara* or *koangaumu*—i.e. by the use of magic. The above is not a real *umu* (oven), it is merely a figurative expression.

Suppose a party of people has been defeated by an enemy, the survivors escape and return home. The *tohunga* (priest) then proceeds to perform a rite by which the enemy will be deprived of power, their *wairua* or spirits will be destroyed by the *umu* spell of the priest.

"*Ka mate te iwi i te riri, ka rere mai nga morehu, ka koangaumutia ki runga ki nga tuara o nga morehu, kia ea taua mate. Ka tangohia he kakahu, he rakau ranei o nga morehu, ka karakiatia hai koangaumu, hai ngoki i te mate. Ka taona nga wairua o nga hoariri ki te umu karakia, ka patua nga mata o nga rakau o te hoariri. Koinei te koangaumu mo te riri. He koangaumu tapu tetahi.*"

"A people are defeated, the survivors return, the *koangaumu* is performed over them in order that the defeat may be avenged. The priest takes a garment or weapon belonging to the survivors, and by magic spells causes it to act as a *koangaumu*, to avenge the disaster. The spirits of the enemy are 'cooked' (destroyed) by the *umu* spell, and the points of the weapons of the enemy are destroyed (rendered non-effective). Such is the *koangaumu* as applied to war. Another kind is applied to *tapu*."

When a people have been defeated in battle they can avenge themselves or equalise matters by building a special house and giving it the name of the battlefield where they fell. They then send a messenger to the tribe who defeated them, and invite one of their chiefs to visit

them. When he arrives he is conducted to the new house, and there treated as a guest of distinction. In a day or two he is returned to his home. The disaster is thus avenged.

Hamiora Po-takurua built a house thus, at the Ahi-kereru pa at Te Whaiti, naming it Te Umu-ki-Te-Ngaere, after a battlefield on which he had been beaten.

After Ngati-Whare were defeated at Rangi-houa, they named a house at the O-tohi settlement, at Te Whaiti, "Te Umu-ki-Rangi-houa."

When Te Umu-ariki of Tuhoe was slain by the East Coast people, Tuhoe and other tribes assembled at Te Waimana to make a great canoe in which to despatch a party to take revenge. The canoe was named Te Totara-o-Huiarau and taken to Whakatane. Then Paora Kingi said, "*Heoi!* It is sufficient. That is all the vengeance we will take. We will now disperse." Which they did, Paora going to Turanga, where he made peace with the slayers of Te Umu-ariki, and the name of that peace-making was "*Te Here o te whetu, te Here o te marama*" (the binding of the stars, the binding of the moon).

There is also an old custom of taking revenge for injuries received by means of composing and chanting a song, more or less virulent in tone. These, however, need classification. The mildest in language is that known as a *whakatea*, which is a song upbraiding a returned war party who have been defeated, the song being sung by women and accompanied by most extraordinary contortions and distorting of the eyes until scarcely any part of the pupil can be seen, this process being known as *pukana* or *whākāna*. The women who take part in this exhibition of contempt are the widows and relatives of the slain. These women come forward and sing their song after the wailing (*tangihanga*) for the slain is over. For when a war party returns they form up in the *marae*, or plaza, opposite the assembled people, and the wailing for the dead commences. The women who sing and perform the *whakatea* are arrayed in the oldest and most ragged garments they can muster. Sometimes men join in. The *whakatea* is sometime termed *manawa-wera*, literally "seared heart." *Whakatea* comes from *tea*=white, from the showing of the teeth and whites of the eye during the performance.

When Tuhoe were defeated by the troops at O-rakau (April 2nd 1864) the survivors returned to Rua-tahuna, where the women assailed them with a vigorous *whakatea* :—

"I hoki mai koe, E Te Whenua-nui

Ki te aha?

Tē mate atu ai te unuhanga o te Puihi o Mātātua

Ka mahora ki te riu ki Waikato

Ki te aroaro o Mania-poto

I tangi ai te pu repo.  
 Ka tutu te puehu ki runga te rangi  
 Ka turakina mai taku wao totara  
 E tu ki te awa ki Mahihi-rangi, ki Te Wai-riko  
 Ko nga wai e rua ki Whakatane, ki Rangi-taiki  
 I tangi taukuri ai nga pouaru  
 Aue !  
 Taku kuru pounamu ka riro—e ! ”

“ Thou returnest, O Te Whenua-nui,  
 To what purpose ?  
 Why didst thou not die  
 With the great ones of Mātātua  
 Who are spread out in the valley of Waikato,  
 In the presence of Ngati-mania-poto.  
 When sounded the loud cannon,  
 The disturbance reaching unto heaven,  
 There fell my totara wood (beloved ones)  
 That stood by the rivers of Mahihi-rangi and Te Wai-riko  
 The two rivers of Whakatane and Rangi-taiki  
 Hence loudly wail the widows  
 Alas !  
 My jade eardrop is gone ! ”

Here is another *manawa wera* :—

“ Te kotiritiri, te kotaratara  
 O tai, o huki, o hope—e  
 Whakatitaha rawa te waha o te kupenga  
 Kia tairi—A-ha ! ha !  
 Hoki mai, hoki mai—e  
 Kia kawea koe ki tera whenua  
 Ki era tangata, nana i ki mai  
 Uhi, ūhi—e  
 A-ha ! ha !

It will be observed these derisive songs are not particularly venomous, inasmuch as they are directed against friends and relatives. They come under the generic term of *ngeri* (or *puha*).

More virulent, however, is the *tumoto*, which is sung by a number of persons to avenge a defeat. The term *taua-a-poke* is sometimes used for the song and performance of *manawa wera*, but usually the *taua-a-poke* is a *taua muru wahine*—i.e. a quarrel over a woman.

When the Arawa tribe were defeated by Tuhoe on the red field of Puke-kai-kāhu, they lost their bravest and best. Many of their leading chiefs were slain, including Te Hurinui, whose wife composed the following elegant *tumoto* in order to avenge her husband and his comrades in death :—

“ E hiahia ana au ki Kai-mokopuna  
 Ki te okiokinga o te upoko-kohua nei,  
 O Te Ure-wera  
 E kore nui a te haukana  
 Nana ano i rere tawheta noa ki te whai



Ki te kawē nui atu mo Tuhoe, mo Tu-matawhero  
 Kia whakarauiatia te pokai kotuku na Rangitihī  
 He paenga pakake ki te ao o te tonga  
 Kia tataia ki runga ki te tumutumu poto  
 Kia titiro iho tē hoa o te kai  
 Ki a Tawhaki, ki te kiri ra, whakataua  
 Ki te anuhe tawatawa.

Me tika taku tira kahurangi  
 Ki te au o Tarawera  
 Mo Te Kakara, mo te ngare o 'Tauwhao  
 Kia rite ai ki te aitanga a Tama-te-ra  
 E tu iho nei  
 He mana tonu no te whakauruhanga  
 O Te Mahana, Te Hiko-o-te-rangi  
 Ka whiriwhiri tonu ki nga maunga nunui  
 O Motoi, o te puhi a Te Arawa  
 He ara whakaheke kino i te iwi."

"Towards Kai-mokopuna are my thoughts directed,  
 To the resting-place of those cooked heads  
 Of the Ure-wera tribe.  
 'Twas fault of fierce defiance  
 When in disorder the pursuit followed  
 With fierce onslaught on Tuhoe and Tu-matawhero  
 Where fell in heaps the flock of cranes of Rangitihī,  
 Like stranded whales in the land of the south  
 Their heads now ornament the short straight stakes  
 Looking downwards, food contaminated,  
 On Tawhaki with the handsome appearance  
 For beauty likened to the patterned caterpillar.

Had my loved ones gone  
 To the full current of Tarawera  
 For Te Karaka, and the supreme chiefs of 'Tauwhao  
 Like unto the descendants of Tama-te-ra,  
 That yonder stand,  
 All powerful would have been the succour  
 Of Te Mahana, of Te Hiko-o-te-raugi  
 And chosen the great mountains  
 Of Motoi, the plume of Te Arawa,  
 'Twas a fatal road of death for the tribe."

Having composed the above, Hine-i-turama, widow of Te Hurinui was escorted to Rua-tahuna by some hundreds of her tribe, and on arriving at the Ure-wera pa of Taumata-o-te-riu, they formed up on the flat beneath the fort and there performed the *tumoto* of Hine-i-turama. As four hundred stalwart fighting men roared forth the words in the spasmodic manner of the *ngeri*, Te Urewera said: "The noise of the Arawa on earth equals the thunder of heaven."

It will be observed that the above expedition and its object were perfectly in accordance with Maori custom, and was not molested by

the Ure-wera, who made peace with the Arawa, whose defeat was thus avenged before the world.

When war between Tuhoe and Ngati-Ruapani was raging on the rugged shores of Waikare-moana, Taru and Te Nau composed the following *kai-oraora* against Ngati-Ruapani :—

“ Ka hua au ki te kowha e huaki nei no wai  
 Kaore koa ko te maunutanga  
 O te puhi o Te Arawa  
 E tanuku nei i taku kaki  
 Ko Pango e nonoi atu ana  
 Kia inu au i te wai toto o to upoko  
 E Toko-uru-rangi !  
 Hai whakamakere i te mapihi kahurangi na te makau  
 Ki te tatikatanga ki Wairau  
 Kia whakakaitoa te upoko-kohua ingoa ngaro nei,  
 A Te Roha.  
 Toia atu ra taku kura  
 I unuhia i roto i te taruru  
 Ka haere wareware i te ara nui o Weka  
 I te kohukohu piri rakau upoko hina o te ao  
 Ma wai koe e kai atu ? ka ruaki—e.

Whakataha koe, E Te Ariki ! ki tahaki  
 Kia haere iho aku niho i runga i to tipuaki  
 Ka pakeke to kutu, te riha, i aku niho  
 I te apunga i ngo roro o Whakapiko  
 Taku kai—e  
 Kai kutu au, kai roro au  
 Kai takatakanga hou ou e Horu  
 Te titohia iho ki te tukituki  
 U rere ana te wharawhara.”

“ The portentous lightning flashes on the mountain,  
 'Tis sign of disaster for whom ?  
 Nay, but it is the withdrawal in death  
 Of the stately plume of Te Arawa,  
 It crashed down my throat.  
 'Tis Pango, that I strongly desire,  
 Let me in revenge drink the brains of thy skull  
 O Toko-uru-rangi !  
 Who shall fell the jade jewel of the lover,  
 On the sinuous shores of Wairau  
 Evil be to the boiled-head, nameless one,  
 Te Roha.  
 Dragged away was my precious one,  
 Withdrawn from amidst the flock,  
 Whilst heedlessly following the weka's road (of war  
 By that tree growing moss ; that grey head of the world  
 Who will dain to eat him ? They will vomit !

Aside with thee, O Te Ariki !  
 That my teeth may know thy skull,  
 That the parasites may be crushed,  
 When glutting on the brains of Whakapiko

O! my food!  
 A parasite, a brain eater am I!  
 An eater of thee, O Horu!  
 When stricken and smashed  
 Then flys the fragments!"

Here followeth another *tumoto* composed by the same persons during the same war. It refers to the slaughter of Tuhoe women and children at Waikare-moana, the incident being known as Te Wai-kotero. It is not safe to assume that, as in the case of the *whakateo* between people of the same tribe, the *tumoto* and *kai-oraora* are not followed by energetic endeavours to obtain blood vengeance. They were merely an auxiliary act of revenge, intended to relieve the feelings of the defeated tribe and to insult their conquerors:—

"He paenga paraoa ki te ana nei, ki Tikitiki  
 To whakatina ra. E! te tangata whakakiki  
 E kapo ana te ringa o Kaitake  
 Ki te hopu ika i te ati,  
 Ka hua ra pea  
 E kore koe e waiatatia nana ka tu to inati  
 E Moko E!"

"'Twas like the stranding of whales  
 Within the cave at Tikitiki.  
 Spell bound art thou,  
 The man who incited,  
 Snatching is the hand of Kaitake,  
 To catch the "first-fish."  
 Maybe you think  
 You will not be sung of  
 When thy punishment arises  
 O Moko!"

The third class of these chants of derision, upbraiding and vituperation, is known as *kai-oraora*, some of which are intensely bitter in tone and language. The composer often expresses the feeling of joy it would cause him, or her, to eat the flesh and brains of the enemies against whom the cursing song is directed. The most bitter of these *kai-oraora* were often the composition of women. The *kai-oraora* is chanted by one person, and is more bitter in tone than the *tumoto*. The following was directed against Ngai-Tama-oki, a division of the Ngati-Awa tribe:—

"E hiakai ana au ki te hokowhitu  
 No Te Pahipoto, no Ngai-Tama-oki  
 Nana i takuru ki te kohatu waipawa  
 Mirohia iho ra te akanga a Toroa  
 Whiua ki nga motu  
 Kia kai takiri te ngohi i te moana."

“I hunger for the seventy twice-told,  
Of the Pahipoto and Ngai-Tama-oki tribes,  
Who crushed (our people) with stones from the oven  
And sought the descendants of Toroa,  
Whom they expelled to the islands  
That fish of the ocean might eat them.”

After the battle of Te Kauna, where Ngati-Awa were defeated by Tuhoe, the former became aware that Tikitu, of their tribe, had sent Te Ao to warn Tuhoe of the approach of the Ngati-Awa war party. They therefore sent for one Tamaku, a woman skilled in song composing (*tito waiata*), and she was requested to exercise her ability in composing a *kai-oraora* against Tuhoe, not forgetting Tikitu of theirs. The result was the following elegant blank verse :—

“He upoko kākā no Taurua, no Tama-rehe  
Kai runga kai te rakau e tarahae ana  
He taki tataeto, he tieke rere  
He pitoitoi ketuketu para rau rakau  
Nana rawa i tua mai taku pokai taniwhaniwha  
Ka kite a Te Ure-wera i tana paenga kahurangi  
Ka whakakoia te niho o te hua o te pouaru  
Homai te haere ota noa atu i te roro  
O Ngati-Huri, o Ngati-ra  
Kai te kai mo Tawhaki  
Ko te wai takataka o Paia  
Ma Te Huri-kino e horo katoa  
Ko te karu mowhiti o Mura-whioi  
Ma Hine-ringa e ota ki muri—e.

Tarutu kau au kia Ngaurei kua riro ia ra  
Me he tonga ra hau kau o rongo  
Kia Te Rau-paraha  
Waiho noa i te ao nei tuiri ai taku wao totara  
Na Te Hautai nana i rutu atu ki te mate  
E tama mahara kore i roto i to ngakau  
Tē ringitia i te kaho ki roto ki te kete  
He whakatau haerenga mo koutou ki te mate  
He kariri takirua ki roto ki nga hamanu  
Tē kaha ta te wētā piri rakau  
Upoko-kohua here manu  
E kore e tina taku poho i te kainga i a Te Tua  
Inu kore a Te Au mo te ngaki mate  
O Te Umu-ariki  
Ma Te Whata-nui, ma Tukino e wero  
Nga kutu o te tipuaki  
Tenei taku toto te paheke nei  
He wai herunga no Tikitu  
No Te Hihira, no te kai tuku karere  
Mo te hunga ki atu—paea te rangi e tu nei  
Paea i te mata o Hoturoa  
Kia wave te tau ki raro ra—e.”



" Those parrot-heads of Taurua and Tama-rehe  
 Are screaming above on the trees  
 Like a flock of blight-birds, or fleeing *tieke*,  
 Like the *pitoitoi* bird scratching amidst dead leaves.  
 'Twas they that felled my flock of high-born ones,  
 And Te Ure-wera saw their heap of slain.  
 Hence do the many widows sharpen their teeth.  
 Let them come, that the brains may be eaten raw,  
 Of Ngati-Huri of Ngati-ra—  
 Eaten because of Tawhaki,  
 The liquid brains of Paia  
 Shall be swallowed up by Te Huri-kino,  
 The gleaming eyes of Mura-whioi  
 Shall then be eaten raw by Hine-ringā.

I weep in vain for Ngaurei who is gone,  
 Like the south wind thy fame extended  
 Even unto Te Rau-paraha in the south,  
 Leaving in this world my totara forest, all shivering.  
 'Twas Te Hautai who felled him unto death,  
 O son ! In the thoughtlessness of thy heart  
 Thou didst not provide abundant powder  
 To accompany you all to death,  
 Nor double the cartridges in your boxes  
 (Against those) tree-adhering *wētā*—  
 Those boiled-headed bird spears.  
 My appetite will not be satisfied in eating Te Tua,  
 Nor thirst of Te Au be quenched in seeking revenge  
 For the death of Te Umu-ariki.  
 It shall be for Te Whata-nui and Tukino  
 To spear the parasites of thy head.  
 Here is my blood downwards coursing  
 Which shall be used in washing Tikitu  
 And for Te Hihira, the messenger,  
 For those who told (our enemies).  
 Smoking are the heavens, to the face of the moon  
 (Sign of) their hasty fall below."

Again, it fell upon a certain fine day that the tribes of Te Whaiti went forth to visit Ngati-Hineuru of Tarawera. While there they managed to grievously insult a woman, one Hine-ra, and deemed it wise to retire to their homes. They were, however, pursued by a party of Hine-uru, who overtook them at Te Paeroa-a-Te-Whakarau. The pursued party were fearful that they were being followed, and the pursuers, knowing this, sent one man ahead to join the Whaiti people, as a *taware*, that is to lead them to think that he alone had followed them. However, this man was slain by Riki of Te Whaiti with a *tokotoko*. When Ngati-Hineuru came up with the party trouble commenced, the end being that one Piki-huia, a chief of Ngati-Hine-uru, was killed by Harehare I. of Ngati-Manawa. Then Te Kiri-tapoa, widow of Piki-huia, produced the following *kai-oraora*, to ease her mind ;—

" Ko wai e korero nei i taku poho  
 Ko Whiri, ko Rara, ko Pari-kawhai  
 Ko Harehare, ko Riki  
 Te huinga mahara e tu ake nei  
 Tenei a Whakamaru-rangi  
 Te korapa o te manawa, ko te kapekape  
 Tomina tawara taku kaki ki to ti ngahuru  
 Tuki ake ana te puku nui  
 Ma wai au e kawe ki Awa-tarariki  
 Ki te ure toa i a Mokai, kia haramai  
 Hautopea te uru rakau ki Marae-tahia  
 Kia kai atu au ko Turere-ao  
 I hea koia koe i te tuatahi  
 I te whakaorahanga o to makere i Te Wairoa  
 Pehea, E koro ! I whakairia koe mo Te Kawau  
 E toremitia ana hoki e Ngati-Pukeko  
 Ki roto i te hangi

Kai te puruhi rere mai  
 Piri ana i te hukahuka, i te weruweru  
 Te kuri poapoa whangainga nei ki te kai  
 Miti ana mai i te pae o te hangi  
 Ko te rite i a Riki  
 He aha te tapu o Taha-wai  
 O te tangata whakatari pakanga  
 Te topi ai taku waha ki reira  
 E kore e tapu  
 Tenei taku poho te tuwhera kau ake nei,

E ai ra e te wahine upoko-kohua  
 I a te ure pounamu  
 Tē ai he maharatanga iho ki te mea  
 Nana to kai piro i ao ki waho  
 Haere, amohia to tara  
 Te wero o te kutu o to taha wai."

" Who is that moves me inwardly?  
 'Tis Whiri, 'tis Ruru, 'tis Pari-kawhai  
 And Harehare with Riki—  
 The originators of the evil (that befel us).  
 Behold Te Whakamaru-rangi  
 Thy heart shall toast on the poker  
 Whilst my throat hungers for thy companions.  
 Beating in anxiety is my heart,  
 As to who shall take me to Awa-tarariki  
 To the courageous Mokai, that he may come  
 And fell the clump of wood at Marae-tahia,  
 That I may feed on Turere-ao.  
 Where were you at the commencement?  
 When thy head was preserved at Te Wairoa  
 How was it, O sir ! Thy head was suspended  
 On account of Te Kawau,  
 When Ngati-Pukeko concealed you all  
 Within the blazing ovens,

Like the flea coming uninvited,  
 Striking in the thrums of the garments—  
 Like the homeless dog fed by anyone,  
 Licking up fragments by the oven's side—  
 This is the habit of Riki!  
 What signifies the *tapu* of Taha-wai?  
 The originator of quarrels.  
 My mouth shall close (on him)  
 His *tapu* will not avail him,  
 My capacious stomach is still open.  
 A cooked-head of a woman  
 Has married one of noble descent,  
 Hast thou forgotten the fact  
 That he ennobles thy rotten off-spring?  
 Be gone! Away with thy affection,  
 Suitable only for your calabash.”\*

In reply to this spirited effusion, Te Kaupoke of Ngati-Manawa composed the following:—

“Tera te marama hikitia ake  
 I te tautara ki Tawhiuau  
 Tohu ake au ko Ngaro-ara—e  
 Tenei ka hoki mai, Hoki mai, E hine ma!  
 Kia whakarerea iho taku putea  
 Kotahi nei a te awe a toroa.  
 E hiakai ana au ki to wai takataka  
 E Te Rua-tara-iti  
 Nana rawa i tiki mai i taku rau kotara  
 Horihia koia ki waho ki te koniu  
 Hoesa ki waho ki nga motu  
 Kia kai mai te ika i Rangiriri.  
 Ana to paenga mimiha ka pau te whakarato e au  
 Ki Puke-tapu, ki Wharau-rangi  
 Peke ana ahau nga toka tapu i Whakure-kutu to pu kainga  
 Takataka tou tini e Te Atiawa  
 Tango mai koia e Tikitu hai whakakatinga  
 Mo te ngaki o taku hoa e tuwhera kau ake nei  
 Kati hoki au ki konei  
 Ka whakahoki au hai Opuru  
 Hai te iwi tango pakanga  
 Nana i tamoe te haupapa e takoto nei  
 Tenei taku makoi hai wetewete  
 Hai heruheru mo Tawhiwhi  
 Mo tona takiritanga makawe e Tamatea-kai-taharua  
 Ko Tama-i-arohi  
 Te whai korero i roto i te tohetohe  
 Ko tona taina te kutu, te riha  
 Te kai ma taku waha-whio  
 Nga atua parau o Pari-pohue.”

“Behold the moon as it rises up  
 By the mountain ridge of Tawhinau,

\* *Taha-wai*, calabash; a play on Te Taha-wai's name, and an insult,

I thought maybe it was Ngaro-ara  
 Thus returning. Return then, O ladies!  
 That I may abandon my precious charge,  
 Containing a single tuft of albatross' down.  
 I am eager for thy liquid brains  
 O Te Rua-tara-iti!  
 He who destroyēd my sweet scented (one).  
 Straight be thy course to the river's mouth,  
 Paddle away to the island,  
 That the fish of Rangiriri may feed.  
 There are thy stranded whales (the slain)  
 Distributed around by me  
 To Puke-tapu, to Wharau-rangi.  
 I jump on the sacred stones at Whakure-kutu  
 Thy very own home.  
 Summon thy thousands, O Te Ati-awi!  
 Taken by Tikitu as a preventative  
 To the avenging of my friend  
 That lies ripped open there.  
 Let me true remain, (or)  
 Return me to Opuru,—  
 To the tribe ever ready for war,  
 Who 'laid' the slain that there lie  
 Here is my spear-head to sever  
 (Or use) as a comb for Tawhiwhi  
 For his hair pulled out by Tama-kai-taharua.  
 'Twas Tama-i-arohei  
 Who made his speech in the strife;  
 He is the brother of loathsome parasites  
 And shall be food for my whistling mouth\*—  
 The false gods of Pari-pohue."

Te Rangi-ora, of Ngati-Manawa, also produced the following *kai-oraora*, in connection with the above trouble :—

"E kore te kiore nei ka pau te tukutuku  
 Ko Tama-ira, ko Tama-turanga  
 Ko Te Here-aute te kai a Uru-piki  
 Kai riri mai Tautoko i tana kai ki a Te Hori-roa  
 Ko Tama-nui-te-ra te kai a Te Moe-tiraha  
 Tikina mai E Waka!  
 Tamoetia te mata o nga rakau  
 E wawata nei  
 Tē pikitia te pikitanga ki te Whakapuke  
 Ko te toa koe i a wai E hine! Te Kohu-tapu  
 Ko te toa koe i a Rewharewha  
 Nana i hautope to kainga, Te Rangi-poka-atu  
 I taoroa mai na ki to kupu whākānā  
 I tuhera i te awatea hai kai—e."

"The rat will not, when liberated,  
 (Line apparently omitted)  
 Tama-ira and Tama-turanga,

\* The gods spoke to men in a whistling tone of voice.—Ep.



Te Here-aute shall be food for Uru-piki.  
 Tautoko will not be angry with his food, Te Hori-roa,  
 Tama-nui-te-ra shall be food for Te Moe-tiraha  
 Fetch them then, O Waka !  
 Deprive of power the points of the weapons,  
 So much desired.  
 Climb the ascent to Whakapuke,  
 And who wilt thou brave, O lady Te Kohu-tapu ?  
 Thou wilt brave Rewharewha perhaps,  
 He who destroyed thy home, Te Rangi-poka-atu,  
 Whose fame was spread by thy words of defiance,  
 But was open in broad daylight for food."

Here follows a *kai-oraora* composed by Te Horo, on account of the death of his son, Pohokorua :—

" Pinohia ki te kohatu  
 Ka korowhiwhitia ake tona roro  
 O te tohunga whaiwhaiā, nana nei au  
 Koi huna ki te Po  
 Ui mai koia, he aha te rawa ?  
 He manawa whiti  
 He manawa rere, he manawa kapakapa  
 Ka noho kai a te ihu.  
 E kui ma !  
 Kia ata tonono mai ki ahau  
 Kaore raia he iwi tu atu ki runga ra  
 E taia ana au e te mate  
 Kai te potaka tunewhanewha  
 Ka taia, ka haere, ka anewhanewha."

" Place hot stones to cook his head,  
 Then will the brain boil up  
 Of the sorcerer-priest,  
 Who nearly sent me to Hades.  
 Ask thou then of what avail ?  
 'Tis a startled heart, a throbbing heart,  
 That rises to the very nose.  
 O old women !  
 Be careful how you call on me,  
 For there is no tribe can stand before me,  
 Or is able to strike me to death,  
 But the flock of high-born ones  
 If they strike, I go, and am paralysed."

The following is a modern *kai-oraora*, composed about fifty years ago by Ngati-Pukeko, who had been defeated by Ngati-Awa, trouble having arisen over the question of a mill site :—

" Tera Tawera ka mahuta i te pae  
 I haramai nei koe i te matua i au  
 Na te aha i whawhati te paihau o Rehua  
 Na nga Papaka o Wharau-rangi i turaki ki raro ra  
 Tenei te waha o rautao te tuwhera kau nei

He waro hekenga mai no Hopa, nou E Kohua !  
 Kihai te toa o Hopa na i homai ki konei  
 Kia riri nga riri, kia toa nga toa  
 Kia anga te koinga ki runga o Tupateka  
 Mo nga mate whakarau  
 E moe tonu mai ra."

"Behold the evening star springs up on the horizon,  
 Thou comest from my parent.  
 'What was it that broke the wings of Rehua (star)?  
 'Twas the crabs of Wharou-rangi that struck them down.'  
 Here is the oven's wide mouth opened out,  
 A chasm for thee, O Hopa and Kohua! to descend into,  
 But Hopa's bravery was not seen here  
 To fight the fight and brave the brave,  
 To turn the spear-points above to Tupateka  
 For those enslaved  
 And the dead there lying."

The *ngeri* is a song of derision, either applied to tribal enemies or people of the same tribe. Such things are very common in Maoriland. The *puha* is a song of defiance, of which more anon. The *peruperu* is a war song.

There was another very singular custom in Maoriland, which is worth describing. Sometimes when a tribe had been defeated in battle, they would adopt the following novel mode of lamenting the disaster. A dirge or lament (*tangi*) would be composed in the form of a *whakaoriori potaka* (song sung while tops are being spun). The people would collect in the *marae* (plaza), many of them being provided with humming tops (*potaka takiri*). The *tangi* would be commenced, and at the end of each couplet all the tops were started spinning at the same time, the result being a weird moaning hum which is said to be a lament in itself, being not unlike the singular moaning sound made by natives when mourning for the dead. In the following example all the tops were spun at the word "*Tukua!*" This *whakaoriori potaka* was performed for the defeats of the Puke-maire and Maketu, where Ngati-Porou and Te Whakotohea fell:—

"Kumea !  
 Toia te roroa o te tangata—e  
 Ina noa te poto ki te oma i Hunuhunu—e  
 'Hai! Tukua!'"

Here the tops are spun, and when run down are picked up, re-strung, and another couplet chanted, and then the tops are again spun:—

"Nga morehu ma te kai e patu—e  
 Ko te paku kai ra mau, E Te Arawa E!  
 'Hai! Tukua!'"

E ki atu ana Karanama, e noho ki tamaiti nei—e  
 Takiri ana mai te upoko o te toa—e.  
 'Hai! Tukua!'

Koro Mokena huri mai ki te Kuini—e  
 Koi rawerawe ana ou mea kanu kaka—e.  
 'Hai! Tukua!'

Na Tamehana ano tona whenua i utu  
 Ki te maramara taro—e  
 Waiho te raru ki to wahine—e.  
 'Hai! Tukua!'"

A somewhat singular manner this in which to lament the dead, but it seems to have pleased the gentle aboriginal.

Here is another singular manner in which to avenge a defeat. Trouble had arisen between the Urewera and Ngati-Tawhaki clans of Tuhoe. The former went to Māna-tē-pa, a Ngati-Tawhaki fort at Rua-tahuna, and fired a volley, killing several people. The sons of Tawhaki were in sore grief and cast about for a plan by which to relieve their minds. They evolved the brilliant idea of erecting two *moari*, or swings, and composing a song or lament to be sung by the people when using these swings. One was erected at Kiri-tahi, and the other near Māna-tē-pa. Here follows the song as sung by the performers and onlookers:—

"Tu-kairangi, hangaa he moari  
 Kia rere au i te taura whakawaho  
 Kai te pehi hiri whakamau  
 Na wai takahia."

At the conclusion of the above, the performers swung off on the ropes. When they stopped, the next verse was sung. Then they swung off again, and so on.

"Taku aroha ki a Te Haraki—e  
 Nga whaiaipo a te hiri whakamau  
 Na wai takahia.  
 He taura ti—e  
 He taura harakeke  
 Nga taura o te hiri whakamau  
 Na wai takahia."

The above is all that my informant could remember. The above incident seems to have taken place a few years before Mr. Colenso paid his first visit to Rua-tahuna, which was in January, 1842.

The swings were erected by Tu-kai-rangi. The purpose of the above was to banish the gloomy feelings and regret, caused by the death of their friends (*hai whakangaro i te rawakiwaki*).

We will give a few instances of revenge taken by injured people, as illustrations of the doings of the old time Maori.

Māro of Tuhoe married Pare-uia of Ngati-Apa. When their son, Te Puau, was born, Māro sent his wife and child to visit her people. Ngati-Mahanga of Te Whaiti waylaid and murdered mother and child. Māro sought far and wide for the slayers of his kin, and, by tracing their clothing, succeeded in finding them. Then the wild bushmen of Tuhoe rose in arms and marched on Te Whaiti, where they fell on Ngati-Mahanga and well nigh exterminated them. The forts of Te Haumingi and Matua-tahi were taken with great slaughter, and Ngati-Mahanga were finally overwhelmed in a stand up fight at Nga-tahuna, the survivors fleeing to the great forest at the head of the Whirinaki river, where they led a miserable existence, "camping upon their footsteps" as the native idiom hath it. And as Tuhoe lifted the back trail to Rua-tahuna, no smoke arose in the vale of Te Whaiti, even from the earthen walls of Te Huia unto the hot springs of Moerangi. For the Great Cañon of Toi was deserted of man.

A method of divination made use of in former times by a priest possessed of sufficient power, was the following: In order to ascertain whether a defeat would be avenged, one of the slain would be taken to the village home and laid down on the plaza, stomach upwards. The priest, clad only in flax girdle, with maybe a few branchlets of *karamu* stuck therein, and standing away from the body, would recite his weird *karakia*, which, if the defeat was to be avenged in the future, would cause the body to turn slowly over.

When Rangi-te-ao-rere visited his father at Roto-rua, he found the people there engaged in the exercise of arms known as *para-whakawai*. A visitor from Tauranga had carried all before him so far, and he challenged Rangi to a trial of skill. In the exhibition that followed Rangi slew his adversary. Some time after the fall of Mokoia and Kawarero,\* the Tauranga people sent a messenger to Roto-rua with an invitation, in connection with a marriage feast. Rangi and his father accepted and reached the Matapihi *pa* at Tauranga, where they were invited to enter a house. No sooner had they entered than the house was surrounded and set fire to. The death of the Tauranga man at Roto-rua was to be avenged. Rangi said to his father, "We are undone." However, Rangi managed to escape through the *puta auahi* and fled, pursued by the enemy, whom he distanced. As he fled on, his pursuers shouted to the villages in front to stop the runaway. As Rangi dashed past these people they asked what the people behind were shouting about. He replied, "Oh! They are calling to you to slay a dog as food for the visitors." Rangi escaped, and under cover of night returned to Matapihi to ascertain the fate of his father. At

\* We think this name should be Kawa-arero, it is that of an ancient people of Roto-rua.—ED.



dead of night he found the priest of the *pa* (fortified village) asleep beneath the *whata puaroa* (stage used in various *tapu* matters, &c.) on which lay the severed head of his own father. Rangi at once slew the priest, and then proceeded to pile a lot of dry brush in the porches of the houses, which he then fired and, taking the head of his father, fled out into the night. Numbers of people perished in the burning houses. So fell the Papaka o Ranga-taua, and so ended the double revenge.

We will now discourse on the *kanohi kitea*\* of the Whakatohea within the vale of Rua-tahuna. It is the story of an insult, of armed invasion, of fierce fighting and much bloodshed, and all to wipe out the sting of a jest.

Te Whatu-pe was of Tuhoe. Tama-riwai was of Te Whakatohea and Tuhoe tribes. These two forgathered at a tribal feast. The former paid devoted attention to a calabash of preserved birds. As he extracted the last bird he held it up to the gaze of Tama-riwai, crying: "O! Tama. Here is a fine morsel (*inati*) for us two. Your eyes may look at it, while I eat it." Which he at once did. This rude jest was looked upon as a dire insult. But Tama made no reply, though anger and vexation quivered within him. He rose and took the eastern trail for the coast. Te Whakatohea rose in arms, they marched to the Wai-mana, where the force divided, one division marching up the valley of the Tauranga river, the other up the Whakatane. Tama-riwai commanded the latter, and Te Piki-tuangahuru the former. Te Piki marched to Maunga-pohatu, where they caught one Hou-mau, a woman. She said, "Do not kill me yet, let me live to direct you to the *rua tahā*† at Rua-tahuna. Her captors enquired, "How many *tahā* are there?" She replied, "There are seventy twice told." The party came on to Rua-tahuna, and camped for the night on a terrace at Tatahoata, the same spot where, four generations later, the forces under Colonel Whitmore camped for the subjugation of Rua-tahuna. But the "*Kanohi kitea o Te Witimoa*" is another story.

During the night the old woman escaped, and fled down to the Whakaari *pa*, about half a mile below Tatahoata, on the Mana-o-Rongo creek, where she found the Ngai-Te-Riu *hapu* (sub-tribe), unconscious of the enemy's approach. She said, "There are Te Whakatohea camped up at Tatahoata; they come to destroy you of Tuhoe." Tuiringa, a famous fighter, rose up and said, "Let messengers go forth to collect the fighting men of Tuhoe." *Heoi!* While still the darkness of night hung upon the world, the warriors of Tuhoe came

\* *Kanohi kitea* = the seen face, i.e. the incursion.

† *Rua tahā* = a store of preserved foods—here used to denote the Tuhoe people of Rua-tahuna.

by rugged trails, by dark forests and the ways of many waters. The Whakatohea camp was surrounded, that the attack might be made at dawn, and the darkness still held. Meanwhile Te Manu-ka-tiu arrived that night at the Tawai *pa*, a mile below Whakaari. He said, "Te Whatu-pe has been slain, I am the survivor." The people asked, "By (the people of) what place was he slain?" "By Te Whakatohea." Then it became known that two bands of the Whakatohea were invading Rua-tahuna, and matters looked sultry for the *Potiki a Tamatea*.

Manu-ka-tiu and his people advanced up the Mana-o-Rongo and joined Tuhoe before Tatahoata. The stars appeared which mark the dawn. When the knees of men were seen,\* then Tatahoata was attacked. The exultant cry of Manu-ka-tiu was heard, "Mine is the first slain" (*mātāika*). Then the dark world of death closed in upon the warriors of Whakatohea, and the light of day shone upon the child of Tamatea. And then, there being no one left to slay, the men of Tuhoe returned, each to his own home.

Ngati-Karetehe slew Tu-pakiaka at Kanihi, and proceeded to conquer the lands of Nga-Potiki. The news came to Whanga-mata *pa*, to Tama-riwai and Tama-whai. Their old mother rose, and shaking her breasts before them, said, "I nourished you at these breasts that you might avenge the death of your father, Tu-pakiaka." Tama-riwai rose and said, "By me will he be avenged."

Meanwhile Karetehe were busy digging and stocking fern root, intending to slay Tama-riwai and his brother as a relish to be eaten with the fern root. But Tama had roused the forts of Rua-toki and the men thereof marched on Karetehe, taking the Paka-where *pa* and slaying many of the people thereof.

Here is another story of wrong, and murder, of cannibalism and swift blood vengeance, as it was in the good old days.

Moetai, a woman of Turanga, married Tua-iti of Te Kapu at Te Wairoa, while her brother Takaroa married the sister of Tua-iti. Tua-iti, being possibly hungry, fell upon Takaroa one day at Papa-huakina, and needless to say ate, or assisted to eat, the body. Moetai asked Tua what had become of her brother. He replied that probably he was visiting another village. That night as Tua slept, his wife knew by the odour of his breath that he had been eating flesh. In the morning she said, "I go to search for my brother." Tua said, "Stay you here. He is at one of the villages and will return." Then Moetai knew that her brother had been slain by Tua. She at once started for Turanga, where her brother-in-law Rongo-whakaata at once raised a war party and marched on Te Wairoa. They approached Tua's house

\* Scouts or sentries crouching behind scrub—knees the first part seen.

at night and found his canoe, which they secured at both ends, having been warned that Tua was a slippery gentleman to catch. They surrounded his house, but Tua dashed out and escaped, followed by Rongo. Tua made for his canoe and tried to launch it, but did not notice in the darkness that it was tied. Before he could release it, he was slain by Rongo. The body of Tua was lashed in his canoe, which was sent adrift to float down the river. Many people of Tua's *pa* were slain. The next morning the people of the lower Wairoa saw Tua seated in his canoe, wrapped in his cloak, and drifting down the river but did not know that he was dead. When his death was discovered Rongo and his merry men were far on the back trail to Turanga.

When Tahaki-anina of Ngati-Potiki was slain by Hape of Ngati-Manawa at Tahuaroa, Hine-rotu, wife of Tahaki, sent for Te Arohana to avenge the death of her husband. Te Arohana at once raised a force and marched on Oputara, the *pa* of Hape at Whirinaki, which he surrounded and besieged. When the fort fell Hape and many others were put to death. Te Arohana returned to Rua-tahuna, where Hine-rotu made over to him, and his heirs for ever, a large block of land on the right bank of the Whakatane river, as a reward for his services. The descendants of Te Arohana have held that land for eight generations.

Te Ranga of Ngati-Mahanga of Te Whaiti called upon his spear-men to raid the realm of Nga-Potiki. They marched to the head of the Wairau river and slew Parahaki, whose wife Mihi said to Te Ranga, "*He aha koia te mate noa ake ai, kei te ora nga toetoe tahae o Mihi-ki-te-kapua*"—What does his death matter, the *toetoe tahae* of Mihi still live, *i.e.* her son Whitiaua was still living and would avenge the death of his father. *Toetoe tahae* is a coarse grass, the leaves of which have serrated edges which cut the hands deeply if carelessly handled. This reference meant that the Parahaki family was a dangerous one to interfere with. Mihi escaped and fled towards Rua-tahuna, ever wailing for her dead. Now her son Whitiaua was, at the same time, travelling to his mother's place, and sat down by the wayside to rest. Ere long he heard the voice of his mother as she wailed for her dead husband. Whitiaua knew that death had overtaken his people. But he did not move. As the mother came up the trail, he asked, "Whose is the deed?" Mihi answered, "Te Ranga of Ngati-Mahanga." Whiti said, "Proceed on your way."

Before the moon had changed, Whitiaua had collected the warriors of Nga-Potiki, and advanced on Te Whaiti, where they surprised Te Ranga and his people at Huki-tawa. Many of Ngati-Mahanga were slain. Te Ranga fled, pursued by Whitiaua, who, after a long chase, felled his enemy with a thrust of his *tokotoko*, saying "How indeed may you escape from the *toetoe tahae* of Mihi-ki-te-kapua." The hear-

of Te Ranga was cut off as a trophy. Then followed one of those dreadful acts, so common in Maori warfare. Whitiaua, in revenge for the slaying of his father, disembowelled the body of Te Ranga and strung his entrails to the branches of a *totara* tree on the field of Ngarahu-te-mate (*ka takeketia te ngakau*) even as the cords (*takeke*) for attaching bird snares to are strung along the branches of a tree. Since that time Takeke has generally been borne as a name by a member of Ngati-Mahanga, in commemoration of how their ancestor Te Ranga was served.

As for the wild bushmen of Nga-Potiki (Tuhoe), they returned to their savage homes among the forest clad mountains—and the word was—

“Ho! Dogs of false Tarentum!  
Is not the gown washed white?”

Or at least something to that effect.

For it is an ancient custom of the Maori to keep the memory of an injury, insult, or defeat green by a person assuming a new name taken from some remark or incident connected with the affair. It helps to keep resentment and the longing for revenge alive. For instance, Ngati-Kakahu-tapiki is the name of a sub-tribe of Tuhoe. It was obtained in the following manner. Te Kiato, an ancestor of the *hapu* was insulted by Nuku of Ngati-Awa, who said: “Let Te Kiato be slain as a sacrifice to take the *tapu* off the *tapiki-tanga* of my (new) cloak.” *Tapiki-tanga* means the finishing off of anything woven. When Te Kiato’s child was born, the father named it Kakahu-tapiki, in memory of Nuku’s insult. The clan are named from that ancestor.

In the early days of Wellington, a settler speaking to a native of Wi Tako, a noted chief of Ngati-Awa, said: “No good, Wi Tako.” When the chief heard of this, he at once named one of his children No-Kuru, *i.e.* no-good—such being the native pronunciation.

Another act of revenge was the swallowing of the eyes of a slain enemy. When Hongi Hika was with a raiding army of the north he encountered a man who had slain a relative of his (Hongi’s) and who therefore was looked upon by Hongi as his *tama-a-hara* (or *ito*). Not content with killing the man, Hongi swallowed his eyes, to square the account.

When Tuhoe defeated Ngati-Manawa and Te Arawa at Te Tapiri in 1866, the two Ngati-Manawa chiefs, Eru and Enoka, were slain. Their heads were cut off by Tuhoe, and Kereopa scooped out and swallowed their eyes. Kereopa had previously become notorious from his having swallowed the eyes of the Rev. Mr. Volckner, who was murdered at O-potiki. Hence this ruffian obtained the name of *Kai Whatu*—the Eye Eater. It is comforting to know that his end was hastened by a “necktie party.”



Albeit numerous statements have been made that the true Maori abhorred treachery, yet it would appear that the untrue variety of natives must have been very numerous. The old war chronicles reek with instances of treachery, ferocity and savage revenge. Many cases are on record of people being invited to feasts and then barbarously murdered. Gleams of brighter things, however, are occasionally noted in these old chronicles. When Tuhoe were advancing to attack O-putara *pa*, it was proposed to assault the fort under cover of darkness, but Te Rangi-aniwaniwa, the chief, said: "Am I a slave that should attack an enemy in the darkness? No! We will wait until the light of day flashes upon Tawhiuau."

A common form of revenge was the degrading of the dead and through them, their living relatives. The head of a noted enemy was usually cut off and dried and preserved. This head would be brought out sometimes, and stuck on top of a stick near the cooking place (most degrading act), or sometimes a woman would put one on her *turuturu* stick when engaged in weaving. At such times the head would be reviled in bitter terms. The bones of enemies were often taken for the double purpose of fashioning from them divers implements and also casting a fearful slur upon the relatives of the dead. Thus, human bones were formed into barbed points for bird spears, fish hooks, &c. When Mawake, of the original people, died and was buried at Waitaha-nui, one Manaia took his jaw bone and fashioned thereof a fish hook. When he and his people went a fishing, they were all destroyed by the demons of the sea. At least so say Ngati-Awa the descendants of Mawake.

"*Koangu-umu*." This term is applied to a person slain in order to avenge the death of another.

When Ngati-Whaoa slew Koroua at Wai-o-tapu, they used his head as a mark for a *rahui* for some time. Then one Nga-hurubur took the skull and planted a *taro* therein, as food for his child, which was given the name of Nga-taro.

Te Ata-o-Rehua and Kai-tuhena started from Torere to visit Te Parata of the Pane-nehu tribe. On their way, Te Ata climbed a tree in order to spear birds. While engaged in this task, he happened to look down, and saw Te Parata at the base of the tree, trying to spear him. On seeing that his act was observed by Te Ata, Te Parata withdrew his spear. Te Ata and his companion returned to Torere. Te Parata said, "Had I slain Te Ata, I would have potted his flesh for food." This remark reached Te Ata, who arose in his wrath and killed Te Parata, although the latter was a relative. Ngati-Rua then killed a slave belonging to Te Ata's branch of the Whakatohea, in return for Te Parata's death. It is curious to note that the hapless

slave was a member of Ngariki, a Poverty Bay tribe. After a long series of fights, the tribal name of Te Pane-nehu became lost to the world.

Sometimes a special house would be built in order to raise a force to avenge some wrong, real or imaginary. When finished a meeting would there be held in order to discuss and arrange matters. Such a house would be termed a *whare ngakau*.

An incident recorded by Mr. White illustrates the singular devices adopted by the Maori to stretch revenge to its uttermost and degrade an enemy. A certain tribe having slain a hated enemy, took the skin from his body and stretched it over a wooden hoop. They would amuse themselves by throwing or trundling the hoop across the village plaza. This was reckoned fine sport.

When the northern tribes attacked Te Wai-rarapa they slew many of the people, whose bones they were very careful to burn, so that the relatives of the dead might not be able to collect and give them a decent burial. In one fight the same people cut off many heads of the enemy and piled them in a pyramidal heap, the head of the most important chief being placed on the top as an apex. The gentle conquerors then took other heads, and amused themselves by throwing them at the pile of heads until the same were crushed and misshapen. This is an old Maori custom, but stones were generally used to throw at the pile of heads.\*

The reviling of a dead enemy is not always advisable. His tribe will hear of it and take the earliest opportunity of settling the account. "A fort is taken. The slain are piled in a heap, the principal chief killed being put on top. Possibly the lives of some have been spared, for various reasons. One of the victors reviles the dead chief: 'You thought yourself a great man, lofty as the heavens. But you are brought to earth now. You! Lying there with your legs stretched out, your eyes staring and your tongue hanging out, &c., &c.' Now, some of the prisoners may return to their tribe and report the reviling of the dead chief. Then vengeance is decided upon. It may be taken to-morrow, or two generations later."

So fierce were the old-time wars that many tribes have entirely disappeared, and others represented by very few people, at the time that inter-tribal wars ceased. A descent from tribes whose names have disappeared can, however, still be traced through their women being taken by the conquerors. That branch of Te Tini-o-Toi which originally occupied the Whaiti Valley in the Tuhoe-land, are lost as regarding their ancient tribal name; albeit, many of Ngati-Whare who

\* See JOURNAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY, vol. viii, p. 224, for particulars of this incident.—ED.

now hold those lands are descended from the original people. Strange to say, however, none of them seem to know the fact, and cannot trace their line of descent from the old-time people. I obtained the genealogy from Nga-Maihi, who are descendants of the original people of the lower Rangi-taiki Valley, and were related to the original people of Te Whaiti.

Many of the old original tribes are now represented by tribes of mixed descent, the later migration of Polynesians, in about 1350, having intermarried with the original people. Ngati-Awa are the descendants of the original Tini-o-Awa. Tuhoe are really the ancient Nga-Potiki. Te Hapu-oneone of old are now represented by several tribes.

Ngai-Tuahau of the ancient people, a tribe that formerly held the Manana-a-tiuhi valley near Maunga-Pohatu, were destroyed by the Ngati-Rakei section of Nga-Potiki, under Tama-pango.

When a tribe was so severely defeated as to be unable to take the field again they would, if practicable, retire to some isolated district, preferably a rough, mountainous, forest-covered country. There they would remain for a generation or longer and make it their serious business to breed and train warriors. When sufficiently strong they would descend on their old-time conquerors like a tidal wave, and would betide the latter if not well prepared, for the hermit tribe, bred and reared in the savage school of adversity, trained for long years for this task and bitter with the lust for revenge, would be awkward gentry to handle.

We will give an example of a case where revenge would not be sought. As already explained, after Tuhoe defeated Te Arawa at Rere-whakaitu, the latter sent four hundred warriors to chant the *tumoto* of Hine-i-turama as a balancing of the account, and that their defeat might be avenged before the world (*kia ea ki te ao*). Peace was made, and the Arawa departed. They had scarcely left the *pa* before the fighting Ngati-Huri of Maunga-pohatu arrived, in order to attack the Arawa. They were told by Tuhoe that no attack must be made on them as peace had been ratified. Ngati-Huri, however, persisted in their object and overtook the retreating Arawa at Te Whatu-o-Mawake, where the latter defeated Ngati-Huri, who lost their sub-chiefs Te Rua-o-kahukura and Nga-rangi-kakapiti, with thirty-four others. And Tuhoe said: "*Kaitoa!* (serve them right) for the disregarded the peace-making." No attempt was ever made to avenge this defeat, for Ngati-Huri had brought it on themselves.

(To be continued.)







5. NIUE.—THE SCHOOL TEACHERS.—ILLUSTRATING TYPES OF THE PEOPLE



## NIUĒ ISLAND, AND ITS PEOPLE.

BY S. PERCY SMITH.

### PART II.

#### THE PEOPLE OF NIUĒ.

FROM what has already been said in the first part of this paper, it is abundantly evident that the Niuē people speak a dialect of the Polynesian language. It is equally evident at the first sight of them that they are a branch of the Polynesian race. There is no mistaking the characteristics of the race as seen in other parts, and which are plainly exhibited by the people of Niuē. They are one and the same people with those who occupy the space included by Hawaii in the N.E., Easter Island in the S.E., New Zealand in the S.W., and Nukuoro in the N.W. So much are they like their brethren elsewhere, that at a cursory glance they might be taken for Maoris, Tahitians, Rarotongans, Hawaiians or other members of the race. But a closer acquaintance will disclose certain differences in personal appearance (besides other things) that differentiates them from—at least—the branches mentioned above, but still, to no very great extent. I am personally acquainted, (more or less), with the Maoris, Morioris, Tongans, Samoans, Niuēans, Rarotongans, Aitutakians, Mangaian, Raiateans, Tahitians, Easter Islanders, and Hawaiians, and on a careful consideration of the question, to which branch do the Niuē people bear the greatest affinity in personal appearance, I come to the conclusion that that branch is the Moriori of the Chatham Islands, more especially in the case of the men. In the Ure-wera tribe of Maoris is also to be seen much the same type of face.

It is probable—and has been demonstrated in the case of the Maori and Moriori (and possibly others) by an examination of their skulls—that every branch of the Polynesian race has a slight admixture of Melanesian or Papuan blood in it. But I think that this shows more than usually strong in the Niuē people. I judge, of course, by personal appearance, for I took no skull or other measurements to support my idea. It is certainly the case also, that there are two types of face and figure in Niuē, and generally, it may be said that

the type which I should call the more Melanesian of the two, is to be found in the south part of the island. Here is to be seen a type that is somewhat shorter and broader, with large wide jaws, a low forehead, and a generally more morose expression of face, than the others, who exhibit the characteristics of the true Polynesian, tall, broad-shouldered, intellectual looking faces, of cheerful demeanour, and altogether of a pleasanter mien. It must not be understood that there is any strong line of demarkation between these two types; the one graduates into the other, as is only naturally to be expected from the circumstances under which the peoples would be thrown together in a small island, where inter-marriages were constant. Nor do I wish it to be understood that there has been a migration of Melanesians to the island—not at all; those who exhibit to a larger extent than others, the Melanesian characteristics, acquired them through their ancestors long before they came to Niuē, and probably in Fiji, which was the headquarters of the Polynesian race for many centuries.\*

It is due in a larger measure to this sojourn in Fiji that Polynesians have a taint of Melanesian blood in them, and the statements of certain writers to the effect that a prior race—Melanesian, Papuan, Negretto, or what not—was found in many of the islands of Eastern and Southern Polynesia now occupied by Polynesians, is to my mind a mistake, and results from ignoring the history of the race. To most of those who have studied the Polynesians and their history amongst the people themselves, the idea of a prior occupation by a different race in the above locality seems quite unwarranted. The few traditions the Polynesians have of a people prior to them are mere localized recollections of their contact with these strange peoples in times long antecedent to their occupation of their present homes. But this is a digression—*ha mena kehekehe*, as my Niuē friends would say.

The results derived from a study of the personal appearance of the Niuē people, is borne out by the fact that they have two distinct names for themselves; those occupying the southern parts are called Tafti, all the others Motu. I shall have to return to this subject when treating of the traditions.

Having said that the people are Polynesians,† little more remains to be said as to the description of them. It might be said (for the

\* See "Hawaiki"—Journal of Polynesian Society, vol. vii., p. 137.

† How badly a name is wanted for this race. Maori has become identified with New Zealand and Rarotonga, whose peoples both call themselves by that name. The Rev. Mr. Whitmee, of Samoa, feeling the difficulty, suggested "Sawaiori," a compound word derived from Sa-(vai'i), (Ha)-waii, and (Ma)-ori. But it has never come into use, and probably never will. The people themselves have no racial name applying to the whole of them. The Marquesians are said to call themselves "Take," but this is no racial term, as it is not known elsewhere.

benefit of my fellow New Zealanders) that the Niue people are Maoris, and that would obviate further description. But all who read this are not acquainted with the Maoris, and therefore a few points may be mentioned. The people are of the same light brown, copper-coloured tint, as the rest of the race, with good figures, active and lithe. Some of them are much fairer (*kili-moka*) than others. Their hair is generally very black, but, like the rest of the race, there is occasionally a tint of brown; indeed sometimes almost red or light tawny coloured hair is to be seen, just like many Maoris, especially like the Maori *uru-kehu*. The hair is either quite straight (*ulu-halu*)—the true Polynesian hair—or curled (*ulu-pikipiki*), or in small crisp curls (*uluginigini*) somewhat like the Melanesian hair, or *ulu-fiti*, bushy finely curled hair like the Fijians, hence the name; but whether this name is modern or not I do not know, probably it is. Baldness (*ulu-kila* or *ulu-muna*) is seen occasionally, whilst grey hair (*ulu-hina*) is common. Like their brethren of other parts, they are not a thickly or bushy bearded people, though in the old men thin beards (*hafa*) are common, very often worn braided in thin braids. In former times the men wore their hair long and floating over the shoulders, but sometimes tied up on top of the head (*fuhiki*), whilst the women wore it short, but occasionally in small twists called *penapena*. At present it is just the reverse, the men's hair, as a rule, is cropped quite close, the women's long and fashionably made up.

The following story illustrates the length of hair worn by the men formerly: At Alofi, in ancient times, lived a man named Tuhega, who was one of the ancestors of the Alofi people. A time of dearth (*hoge*) came on, and there was little food left in the land except what the people could secure in the wilds of the forest, so that they were sorely pressed by hunger. Tuhega was a fierce savage (*favale*) man, and a thief (*kaiha*), stealing from those he saw had acquired some food for themselves. He used to watch the people coming down to the sea-shore to prepare (*tuhoi*) the wild and bitter yams (*hoi*), and after they had washed it in salt and fresh water, &c., so that the yams became fit for eating, Tuhega, watching his opportunity, used to steal it all. He was so successful in his operations that a band of his relatives, fifteen or eighteen in number, joined him, and then Tuhega extended his operations. He went round the island killing all men whom he met, and thus created much alarm. His relatives associated with him began to fear him, and anticipated from his savage demeanour that he would turn on them at last, and kill them. They made one or two attempts to entrap him, but he was a very strong and active man, and they failed; so they decided to catch him unawares in the house in which he lived by himself. Now Tuhega's hair was very long, but, as was the fashion, it was tied up (*fuhiki*) on the top of the head. He always slept with his head near one of the posts of the



house. Entering very quietly, his relatives managed, without disturbing Tuhegā, to untie his hair, and then lashed it round the post so that he was firmly secured, and then they killed him. Here is the song said to have been sung by his spirit after his death, but it is expressed in language I am unable to translate :—

Kuia Togia ke he toa  
Ka e kului i au ki Tapēu,  
Potiki tolu to veli he po.  
Hoku toa, ti fakavaia.

Tuhi feogo ki a Toga,  
Kua hifo e folo kai-tagata,  
To manavanava a Niue nei,  
Hoku toa, ti fakavaia.

Atu toa he ko Tama ha Makefu.  
Tatau e mate i Vailoa,  
Atu tefekula kau hagaia ni,  
Kua ti kai haoia,  
Haku toa ti fakavaia.

The eyes of the Niuē people are like those of other Polynesians, large, and from deep black to dark brown; expressive, and in the women and children, soft.

There are a few albinos amongst the people, which they call *mahēle*, and they are as unprepossessing as the *korako* amongst the Maoris. They are said to be the offspring of the god Tu, who caught the original ones in a net at night, hence they blink their eyes in the daylight. Tu himself was a *mahēle*.\* In Rarotonga, the light haired people are supposed to be the descendants of the god Tangaroa.

Notwithstanding the constant hard work which both men and women alike participate in, they are erect in figure and carriage. I never saw any old women in Niuē bent nearly double with work as was at one time so common with the Maoris; nor are either men or women so obese as many Maoris—their active life prevents this.

As a rule the men are not good looking as compared with other branches of the race, though many have intelligent and very pleasant faces. On the other hand the women are almost invariably fairly good looking, though few are really pretty—their expression is quiet and pleasant. I saw no woman so really pretty as large numbers of Maori women to be seen any day, and they cannot compare with the Tahitian women in beauty. But the Niuē women have one advantage over their Maori sisters—their lips (*gutū*) are generally as thin as those of European women, which is not the rule with Maoris. This seems rather strange if the people have a stronger strain of Melanesian blood in them than most of their brethren, but on the other hand the

\* See Part III. for the native account of the origin of the albino.

noses (*ihu*) are certainly more flat, both in men and women, than the Maoris and other branches.

In the chiefs of Niuē (*Patu* or *Iki*) I never saw that dignity and “presence” observable in a high chief of Samoa, Tonga, or New Zealand,—such as is describable in Maori as *he tino rangatira* or *he momo rangatira*; but in their own way they are chiefs nevertheless, and exercise a good deal of influence over the *lalo-tagata*, or common people.

Of their intellectual gifts, I did not form an exalted opinion. But then my only dealings with them which could call forth their powers in that respect, were of a nature that ran contrary to all their preconceived ideas, viz., the consideration of laws drawn up for the general good and necessarily expressed in terms as technical as the language admitted of. The whole subject was new to them, and without precedent, so allowances must be made on that score.

In industry, I think the Niuē people compare very favourably with any other branch of the race I have met. They are hard workers; indeed the nature of their island obliges them to work in order to live. They make excellent sailors, and are much sought after in Tonga and Samoa as labourers of all kinds. There are over 500 of the young men constantly away from the island, working for Europeans, a large number being engaged at Maldon (which the natives call *Pokolā*) and other islands working the guano. This enables them to earn a little money, but, at the same, it is a very bad thing for the island itself in many ways.

Like other Polynesians, they are very hospitable, and appear to be fond of gathering at feasts, when large quantities of food are consumed. A great feast is termed a *katoaga*,\* which may be translated a “basketing,” but an ordinary feast is a *galūe*.

In the presentation of the food to guests, speeches invariably are made, just as in New Zealand, and—which is not done in New Zealand—all the articles are enumerated, using of course their honorific names which have already been given. The food is then divided out amongst the various *fayai*, or related groups, present, which must be done by some one having a knowledge of these groups, or offence might be given.

#### DIVISIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

It has already been pointed out that there are two main divisions of the people, termed “Tafiti” and “Motu.” The former people occupy the southern part of the island, from and including the

\* This word *kato*, a basket, is interesting as illustrating the inter change of the first series of vowels, i.e. ‘a,’ ‘e,’ ‘o’—for the above word is the Maori and Rarotonga *kete*.

southern part of the village of Alofi to the village of Liku. Very roughly we may say that the name includes about 1,400 to 1,500 of the population. The inhabitants of the rest of the island are included in the Motu division, and number about 3,000. These two peoples have been constant enemies from time immemorial down to the introduction of christianity. Not that they were always in a state of war, but conflicts were very frequent. The people cannot now tell the origin of these two names, but say they have been so called from very ancient times (*tigahau*). The frequent state of warfare in which these two peoples existed seems to emphasize the fact of the population having been drawn from two sources, and the probability seems to be that the Tafiti people are a later migration coming from the west, originally, no doubt, from the Fiji group, where the Polynesians sojourned so long. Tafiti is a name given by the Samoans to the Fiji group,\* and is equivalent to the name Tahiti in Eastern Polynesia. The other name, Motu, probably applies to the original migration, or people of the island (*motu*) who came there in much earlier times.

The Maori words Ngati-, Ngai- and Ati- as prefixes to tribal names, meaning the "descendants of," are not known to the Niuē people. Nor do they know the New Zealand name for sub-tribe, *hapu*, or a tribe, *iwi*. The Niuē word corresponding to Maori *Ngati*-, is *ohi*,† but it does not enter into any of the names of the divisions of the people. The equivalent of the Maori *hapu* in Niuē, seems to be either *Tama* or *fagai*. For example, there are people who are all related to one another more or less, scalled *Tama-hamua*, *Tama-kau-tonga*, *Tama-hato-kula*, &c., and these names seem now to be applied indifferently to those people, or to the places where they live. The *fagai* (Maori, *whangai*, to feed) is also a collection of relatives, but persons stranger to the blood are sometimes admitted in to it. It seems probable that the name originated from the fact of the members of a family "feeding" (*fagai*) together, to which a more extended meaning has been given as the numbers of the family increased. In the pamphlet called, "*Ko e tau poa he mē i Niuē, 1901*," being a statement of the offerings made to the Church in Niuē for 1901, each amount is stated opposite the *fagai* which gave it, and I find there are 170 of them, in which are included several with the prefix *Tama*-. But it is possible some of the names given are those of places that are not identical with the *fagai* considered as a family group of related persons.

See Dr. Turner's "Samoa, a hundred years ago," p. 12.

† *Ohi* is also an old Maori word equivalent to *ai*, and consequently has the same meaning as the Niuē word.

## RELATIONSHIP.

The terms for male and female are as follows : a man is *tāne*, a woman *fifine*, which names differ little from those used by the race everywhere, *tāne* being universal, whilst *fifine* varies as *wahine*, *vahine*, *vaine*, *fafine*, &c. *Tāne* is also a husband, but a wife is *hoana*, which differs from the term used everywhere else except in Tonga, where it is *ohoana*.\* A popular form of alluding to either husband or wife is *tokoua*, which we may translate as “double,” or, as we say, our “other self.” A father is a *matua-tāne*, a mother a *matua-fifine*, words common to the race. With regard to the words denoting the inter-relationship of brothers and sisters, we find some peculiar differences from other branches. For instance, a man’s sister is a *mahakitaga*, a term which is peculiar to Niuē and not found elsewhere, the word in general use being *tuahine*, or some form of it. It would be interesting to ascertain the origin of this change, but I cannot suggest any reason for it, unless the word *tuahine* may at some time have become *tapu* through forming part of a great chief’s name, and so gone out of use. *Mahaki* in Niuē means very great, excessive, and *taga* is of course the present participle of a verb—the English termination “ing,” or the abstract noun ending in “ness.” This, however, throws no light on the subject, for apparently *mahaki* in the word for a sister has no connection with “excessive.” *Matakainaga*, again, is a man’s brother, or a woman’s sister ; it does not appear to be known in Tonga or Samoa, but is an Eastern Polynesian word. In Rarotonga, *matakeinanga* means “the people” ; in Tahiti, *mata’eina’a* is “the subjects of a chief, a certain tribe, clan, or subdivision of the people.” In Hawaii, *maka’ainana* is the common people in distinction from chiefs. Again, *taokete* is an elder brother of a brother, or elder sister of a sister, the same as in Tonga. In Maori, *taokete* is a man’s brother-in-law, or woman’s sister-in-law, as in Rarotonga. The word is not known in Samoan apparently. *Tehina* is a younger brother of a brother (and I think also) a younger sister of a sister as it is in Tonga. This is the Maori and Tahitian *teina* or *taina* with the same meaning, whilst in Samoa it is *tei*, and in Hawaii *kaina*, (Maori, *taina*). *Tugane* is a woman’s brother, as in Maori, *tuagane* in Samoa, *tua’ane* in Tahiti. *Tama* is a child, both male and female, distinguished by *tama-tane* for a boy, *tamā-fifine* for a girl—whereas *tama* in Maori is a son, *tamā-hine* being a daughter. In Tonga, *tama* is “a boy, a child,” but whether the child here is explanatory of “boy,” or includes both male and female, is not clear. In Samoa, *tama* is a woman’s child of either sex ; in Tahiti, a child ; in Rarotonga, a son ; in Hawaii, a child. An infant is *muke*, or *mukemuke*, or *tama-muke*, and a grandchild a *pulupulu-ola*.

\* Of course the first part of this word—*hoa*—is a common term for husband or wife in Maori, originally meaning friend.



or *moko-puna* as in Maori. A grandfather is *tupuna*, which means also an ancestor of any degree, which is common to the race. Twins are called *mahaga* and *tugi* when girls, *la-tugi* being the first born of the two. The first of these words is common everywhere, but *tugi* does not appear to be known outside Niuē. A widow is *takape*, a Niue word not known elsewhere. *Maā*, is a brother-in-law, and *femaāaki* marriage between the children of brothers- and sisters-in-law, *i.e.* first cousins, to which objection was sometimes taken as the degree of consanguinity was considered too near, it was considered incest (*tiki*).

*Tiki* is the term for incest, of which the people had great horror. They deduce this word from their story of Māui, of whom there were three—some say five—Māui-matua, Māni-tama and Māui-tamā-fifine. The two latter, who were brother and sister, married, and the child of this union was named Tikitiki, hence the word for incest. Another story is very similar to the Maori story of the creation of the first man by Tiki. It is very brief, as follows: "Mankind are *unu*," (*i.e.* 'drawn out,' as a fish from its shell, the meaning being that the first woman was 'drawn out' from a man, or from a god, not by natural birth. In fact, the explanation given me was that the first woman was made in the same manner as Eve was from Adam), "and the parent committed incest with the child," (This is the Maori story of Tiki and Hine-tiamata) "one of them was called Tiki-matua, the other Tiki-tama, and Tiki-matua made Tiki-tama. And the child was ashamed, and cried after this manner, "Tiki-matua, mo Tiki-talaga, tikitiki, tiki e, tiki e. It will be noticed here the confusion between the two stories of Māui and Tiki, which are quite distinct in Maori, *i.e.* Māui-tikitiki-Taranga, becomes in Niuē Tiki-talaga.

The adoption of children (*hiki-tama*), especially those of relatives, was common as it is everywhere with the race, and such adopted children had all the rights of those born to the parents adopting them.

An old man is euphemistically termed *penupenu-fonua* or *mutumutu-fonna*, but the ordinary word for an old man or woman is *fuakau*; young man is *fuata*.

#### RANK, GOVERNMENT, ETC.

Niuē presents some differences from many of the other groups in the form of its ancient Government, more particularly in the selection of a supreme chief, or king, a rank which was not hereditary, nor had there been a continuous line of kings from ancient times, so far as can be ascertained. It seems to me that the first institution of a king, *patu-iki*, was due to some outside influence—probably through communication with Tonga or Samoa, of which more than one instance is recorded. Prior to that time there was only chiefs of families, &c. When the occasion which originated a *patu-iki* arose, one was chosen

by the whole of the people from one of the leading families, and subsequently the villages which were the conquerors chose the king, but his election must be agreed to by all to be valid. The absence of genealogical knowledge in the Niuē people, in which they differ so much from all other branches of the race, makes it impossible to assign a date to the choice of the first *patu-iki*, but it seems probable that the institution as a systematic part of the polity of the island had not been in force for more than 150 years before christianity was introduced in 1849—that is, excluding the first king of all. The Niuē form of kingship seems to find its nearest analogue in the case of Mangaia Island of the Cook Group, where the kings (*ariki*) were chosen, and the office was not hereditary. It is entirely different to the system that prevails in Samoa and Tonga, the nearest groups to Niuē, and this difference I wish to emphasize, as it bears on the origin of the people (see Part III). The king, as has been said, is called *patu-iki*, which is a combination of the two words *patu* and *iki*, both meaning a chief, and it may be translated “chief of chiefs.” I shall have to refer to these terms again, but in the mean time will now proceed to give the succession of *patu-ikis*, as written out for me by Mohe-lagi of Alofi, the original of which will be found in Part III hereof, the translation is as follows, but as the original was only placed in my hands the day I left Niuē, I regret I had no time to ask more particulars about it:—

“ This is the history of the kings (*iki*) of old ; and this story has now been written about them, but (the knowledge) is retained in the memories of the wise men and those of a clear understanding. Thus : [Tihamaui was the first king in ancient times ; not mentioned by Mohe-lagi.]

1. PUNI-MATA, the first *putu-iki* of Niuē, who was bathed at Papatea, near Hakupu, whence he was borne on men’s shoulders to Fatu-aia. He died of old age, and was buried at Hopuo. After him, for a long time there was an interregnum ; it is not known how many generations elapsed before another was set up.

2. PATUA-VALU—Then all the people assembled to consult as to another man as king (*iki*) of the island, and they fixed on Tage-lagi.\* Then the people gathered to anoint Tage-lagi as king, but he prevented it and proposed Patua-valu instead, whilst he himself would guard the king, for he was a warrior. So Tage-lagi anointed Patua-valu as king ; he was bathed at Puato. by Tage-lagi, who then composed the following song for the occasion :

Let us carry a stone and set it up,  
Erect it within at Puato,  
To anoint the King of Niuē,  
Sing with prolonged animation,  
Sing with prolonged animation.

\* Tage-lagi’s skull used to grin at me from a shelf in my office at Alofi. A skull is *uluulu-tagata*, *gati-ulu*, or *ulu-poko*.

Hoist up the flag,  
 Let it fly in the breeze,  
 Sing with prolonged animation,  
 Sing with prolonged animation.

Patua-valu was king; but he was guarded by Tage-lagi. And Patua-valu died first of old age, and after him Tage-lagi. Then another was set up as a successor to the king.

8. GALIAGA (or Galiaga-a-Iki) was the king who was killed by violence. He was bathed by Mohe-lagi at Palūki, when he composed the following song:

The populace has gathered at Palūki,  
 To bathe the Lord at the *tafua*,  
 Look not backwards to Fale-una,  
 But downwards to the *tafua* of the island  
 Now gathered at Palūki.

(Galiaga of Palūki was the last king elected during the times of peace. He was killed by Tikomata. The first time he visited Liku he went to bathe in the sea, upon which Mohe-lagi composed the following song, which, I may add, was sung as a welcome to me on my first visit there:

Kua fenoga he Iki ki Tama-ha-le-leka,  
 Iki puna he mata i Halavai,  
 Kave loa ki Fakahau-leva  
 Koukou i luga a Tagaloa,  
 Iki puna he mapua-lagi.

To pakia hifo e muka he kava,  
 Ke kapiti ua mo e mata he lā,  
 Folahia ki fakatau la  
 Mo nofoa a Galiaga-a-Iki,  
 Iki puna he mapua-lagi.

The chief journeyed to Tama-ha-le-leka,<sup>1</sup>  
 To see himself in the waters of Halavai point,<sup>2</sup>  
 Tis a long carrying to Fakahau-leva.  
 Tagaloa<sup>3</sup> does bathe up above,  
 (But) the chief sees himself at the horizon.<sup>4</sup>

Striken shall be the young shoot of *kava*,  
 And be conjoined with the face of the sun,  
 Let both be spread out together.  
 As a seat for Galiaga-a-Iki,  
 The chief sees himself at the horizon.

<sup>1</sup> Another name for Liku.

<sup>2</sup> A point on the coast near Liku—"to see himself"—the word *puna* in Niue is to look at one's reflection in the water, the only looking glass the people possessed.

<sup>3</sup> Tagaloa, principal god of Niue.

<sup>4</sup> *Mapua-lagi*, the horizon. cf. Maori *pua-o-te-rangi*, for the "space of heaven."

After Galiaga came two candidates for the office of king named Fakana-iki and Hetalaga, but as the whole of the island did not approve, neither of them was anointed.)

4. FOKI-MATA then became king, and was bathed by Fakahe-manava at Palūki, when he composed the following song for him :

The *kamapiu* shrub that stands at Tafala-mahina,  
Broken off were (its branches) by my sister,  
And beaten on my body to scent it,  
Sweet scented to go to Palūki.

5. PAKIETO was also a king, but he did not hold the office for a year, and then died.\* [He was of the Tama-lagau people—and subsequent to his death a war occurred as to who should succeed him—not mentioned by Mohe-lagi.]

That is the story of the Patu-ikis of old in the “period of darkness” (*vaha pouli*) ; but the following are the kings of the “period of prayer” (*vaha liogi*, *i.e.* since christianity prevailed). The populace sought out a man who was suitable, and of good repute, for the office. Thus :

6. TUR-TOGA was the first king. He was anointed on March 2nd, 1875, and died 13th June, 1887. This is the song composed for his anointing :

Assembled are the people at the hanging flag,  
Seeking are the people for a lord,  
This island is seeking for a lord,  
Seeking for a lord (like) Patua-valu,  
For he was the lord who fell full ripe (in years),  
Seeking are the people for a lord,  
It is settled to be the weapon-eating lord there,  
To watch for the dreaded companies,  
Seeking are the people for a lord.

(Tui-toga was also called Ta-tagata, a name now borne by his son.)

7. FATA-A-IKI was the next king ; he was anointed November 21st, 1888, and died December 15th, 1896. (I learn from Mr. Lawes that Fata-a-Iki was a very superior man, of great force of character, and with a deep knowledge of the Niue language. His word was law to the people.)

8. TOGIA-PULU-TOAKI is the present king, and he was anointed June 30th, 1898, and was in office when the Resident arrived at Niue, 11th September, 1901.”

Such is Mohe-lagi's account of the kings of Niue. The songs (*lologo*) are probably those sung at the feast (*katoaga*) held in the

\* Fata-a-iki's paper says that Fiti was fifth king—probably another name for Pakieto.



king's honour when he was anointed. The word "bathe" which I have used in the translation of the songs, refers, I think, to the washing of the body with scented (*manogi*) oils, and the anointing (*fakauku*, or *fakatakai*; *fakafoufou* to crown, *foufou* a crown) was done by one of the senior chiefs dipping a *lau-mamālu*\* in a cup of coco-nut oil, and striking the king's head three times. A representative from each village attended, whilst others performed various services, such as providing the stone against which the king sat to be anointed, such stone being called a *pēpē* (Maori, &c. *paepae*, but in Moriori *pēpē*). There are two of such stones in the village of Alofi, where Tui-toga and Fata-a-iki were anointed. They are rough flat coral rocks, about four feet high and two feet broad. At Tuapa, about half-a-mile inland is another, which stands at the east end of an artificial platform (*tutu*) of rough stones about twelve feet high, sixty feet long, and fifty feet wide. At about seventy or eighty yards to the west are eleven seats formed of upright stone with backs to them, where the chiefs sat in council (*tono*) with the king. The pillar where the king is anointed and the stone seat reminded me very much of the place called Arai-te-tonga, in Rarotonga, where is the pillar called Tau-makeva where the *ariki* or king was anointed and near where is the row of stone seats, of the same kind as those at Niuē, where the chiefs of the island sat. But there is this notable difference, that at Rarotonga the chiefs can tell to whom each seat belonged, and the whole history of the place, and the ceremonies performed there, whereas the Niuē chiefs, including the king, who accompanied Mr. Lawes and myself on our visit to the *pēpē* described above, knew very little about it—not even the name of the king who was anointed there.

It will be noted in the above songs, that *tui* is sometimes used for king, chief, &c. This is a Fijian, Tongan, and Samoan title, but not known in Eastern Polynesia. It was probably introduced by the Tafti people, but it is very rarely used. There are honorific or emblematical names for the king, such as *Ulu-he-motu*, Head of the Island; whilst Tuapa, where the present king lives, is called *Uho-motu* meaning the core, centre, origin, of the island, and inferentially the seat of power. But Tuapa has not always been the "capital" of the island. Palūki, near the centre, seems to have been the great place in former days, though no one lives there permanently now. Fata-a-iki

\* *Lau mamālu*, the leaf of a fern that is very common at Niuē. It appears to have some special significance attached to it, like the *karamu* branch, &c., much used formerly in New Zealand in connection with their ceremonies. When vessels approached Niuē formerly, the wise men used to hold a *lau-mamālu* before their faces whilst they recited their incantations to drive off the strangers for fear of diseases. The use of the fern leaf was to prevent them being afflicted by ophthalmia originating with the visitors.

paper (*loc: cit.*) says: “*Ko Palūki, ko e uho foki ha mautolu a Palūki. Ko Palūki mo Liua-lagi; ko e higoa haia he motu tapu\* i Niue nai; ko e toloaga haia he motu nai, ke eke ai e tau kava-atua mo e liogi ai ke mafola e motu.*” “Palūki is our origin, centre; Palūki and Liua-lagi are the names of the sacred isle (? wood)\* of Niue; it was the gathering place of all the island, where they made the *kava-atua* and prayed for peace in the island.”

As to the functions of the Patu-iki, it is now somewhat difficult to say. But the mere fact of their being such a functionary who was in constant communication with all parts of the island through the intermediary of his council (*fono*), would tend to the general benefit. There was one representative of the king—his agent, as it were—in each village called Alavaka, or Alaga-vaka; but at a *fono*, it was not only they who attended, but most of the other chiefs also.

In addition to the king there was an officer termed an Alaga-vaka ne-mua, or chief Alaga-vaka, who was a kind of Prime Minister, and may be said to have carried on the business of the island, indeed, to such an extent it is said, that he sometimes usurped the chief power in the land, and carried on the government (*pule*) himself. He was assisted by another Minister termed a Hagai, but what his functions were I know not. According to Fata-a-iki (*loc: cit.*) there were a number of Alaga-vaka, but one only, the Alaga-vaka-ne-mua, who had access to the king. I give below his account in the original, for it contains some statements of importance which I should not like to make a mistake in. He says: “*Ko e alito he motu nai he vaha tuai ke e palāhega, ti lavahi aki ni e kafa-lauulu, ti afi aki ni e lau-polata mo e tau lau-piu; afi ni, ati maluokaoka fua, ti tahake ni ke tau he aloalo-fale, ti tafu ni e afi he kekekele ke mafana ai e mena ia kua tau he aloalo-fale. Ko e higoa e mena ia ko e ‘toka-motu’—ko e alito haia he motu. Ko Tagaloa haia he mounuina ai e motu. Ka to e tau lā, ti fano e Ala-vaka-ne-mua ke he Patu-iki ke huhū age ki a ia po ke heigoa e mena ne malaia ai e motu. Ti fano a Tokaaga-tala i Mutalau ke kikite; kua fukefuke tuai he Patu-iki e tau afi, ti tiaki, ti haumia ni e alito he motu—nakai mafana ke monuina e motu. Ko Tokaaga-tala e Alu-vaka-ne-mua—Ko e mena loga e Alaga-vaka, ka e taha ni ne mua; nakai oti ke he Patu-iki, taha ni ka fano ke he Patu-iki ke tā mai he tala ke he motu.*” The translation is: “The *Alito* of this island in ancient times was a *palā-hega*, which was bound up with a hair girdle, and then wrapped in the inside leaf of the banana, and also a fan-palm leaf;†

\* The Maori word *motu*, for a clump of forest seems to be lost in Niue now-days, but the fact of such a clump of tall forest trees growing near Palūki at the present day, named *Motu-tapu*, seems to show that they once knew the word. It is in this sense probably Fata-a-iki uses the word above.

† Articles of value are still wrapped up in the silky inner skin of the banana stem (*lau-polata*), and the folded leaf of the fan-palm is also used as a wrapper at the present day.

after wrapping up it was completely sheltered, and was then lifted up and suspended on the inner part of the roof, a fire was then lit on the ground in order to warm the object suspended to the roof. The name of this thing is a "*toka-motu*"—that is the *alito* of the island. It is Tagaloa; and he blesses (or brings prosperity to) the island. After sunset, the chief Alaga-vaka would go to the Patu-iki to ask him as to what it was that brought misery (misfortune) on the island. On one occasion Tokaaga-tala, of Mutalau, went to see him; (he found) that the Patu-iki had taken off the coverings and thrown them away, and (consequently) the *alito* of the island was damp through dew—it was not warm, so that the island might be prosperous (or blessed). Tokaaga-tala was the chief Ala-vaka. There were many Alaga-vaka, but only one was chief; the others would not go to the Patu-iki, but one only, that the Patu-iki might give him the information about the island."

There are some matters in the above which require explanation. The word *alito*,\* means the core, kernal, in ordinary language, but here it is evidently more in the nature of the *mauri* of the Maoris, that is, an object of a talismanic kind which centred in it as an objective the prosperity of the island, in the same manner that the *mauri* represented the tangible form of that which gave prestige, power and vitality to the places wherein they were located. We have no word in the English language to express this; but it may more easily be understood by Mr. Elsdon Best's apt illustration as follows. When the Philistines took from the Children of Israel the Ark of the Covenant, they lost their *mauri*, and with it their prestige, power, luck and well-being as a nation. Such is, I think, the meaning of *alito* in this connection. The visible form of the *alito* was a *palāhega*. Now this is a plume, made of paroquets' feathers worked round a central core of wood or compressed dried banana leaves, sprouting from which is a plume of red feathers of the *tuaki-kula*, or tropic bird. They are very handsome objects, and are bound together with braided human hair.† In its talismanic capacity it evidently was necessary that it be kept warm (*mafana*) to retain its virtue, and hence the action of the Patu-iki in allowing it to become bedewed (*haumia*) caused misfortune to arise in the island, and originated the visit of Tokaaga-tala to the Patu-iki to ascertain the cause thereof. It will be seen that the *palāhega* was termed a *toka-motu*, which, I think, may be translated as the "rock, or foundation of the island."

There was a special series of words used in referring to the king or in addressing him, which were not used in other cases or in

\* Maori scholars will recognise the word *rito* in *alito*.

† See plate in part III.

rdinary convesration. This of course is a Samoan and Tongan custom also. The paucity of "chief's words" in Niuē again leads me to infer that the institution of king is comparatively modern, and that the introduction of the use of them was due to some communication with Tonga or Samoa. The following is the list which, however, may not be complete :—

Chiefs' Word	Common Word	Chiefs' Word	Common Word
<i>fioia</i> , to see*	<i>mamata</i> , etc.	<i>haeleaga</i> , the king's residence	<i>fale</i> , <i>kaina</i>
<i>finagalo</i> , will, command	<i>loto</i>		
<i>fufuga</i> , head	<i>ulu</i>	<i>matulei</i> , to die	<i>mate</i>
<i>fofoga</i> , face, eyes, etc.	<i>mata</i>	<i>tugolu</i> , to sleep	<i>mohe</i>
<i>haele</i> , to come, or go	<i>hau</i> , <i>fano</i>	<i>ve</i> and <i>vae</i> , foot	<i>hui</i>

Out of these words, two are Samoan, six Tongan, four Futunaan, four Tahitian, three Maori. From so small a number of words it would be unsafe to make any sure deduction ; but still, Tongan words preponderate, and the inference would be, were the comparison capable of greater extension, that the institution of king is due to Tonga influence.

The attitude of the lower orders towards the king and chiefs was always one of deference, for which they have a word (*maimaina*), and this is so at this day. No one of the common people (*lalo tagata*) approaches a chief, or passes before him without stooping in a humble attitude (*tukutuku-hifo*, to bow down), and, like the Samoans, they sit down cross-legged (*fakatoga*, which really means Tonga fashion) to refer any request. Fata-a-iki says (*loc. cit.*) "The appropriate (*gali*) way of speaking in Niuē in former days, was not to stand, but sit cross-legged, or to kneel one knee on the ground." This latter posture is frequent at the present time. I was often amused in my talks with Mr. Lawes, to see that people meeting us along the road, specially women, generally moved off the highway and squatted down until we had passed. This is *maimaina*, deference, respect, a word which appears to be native to Niuē, but is akin to the Maori *maimai-roha*. There is another Niuē word for this humble attitude, *hufeilo*, which apparently meant originally, to prostrate, to lie on the ground, to abase oneself to a conqueror, to beg one's life. The conquered formerly acted in this manner, kissing the feet of the conqueror and bringing a present at the same time. This was done in such a manner as not to give the victor time to refuse. Inferentially, if the present was accepted, the life of the petitioner was spared.

\* *Fioia*, is probably the passive form of *fio*, the Tahitian *hio*. If so, as to see and to know are generally identical terms in Polynesia, the Maori *mo-hio*, to know, the same as Niuē *fio*.



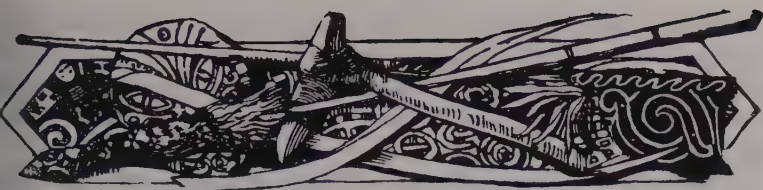
There are a good many chiefs in Niuē, who are called either *iki* or *patu*. The former no doubt is the Polynesian word *ariki*, or chief, lord, or king, though in New Zealand it is also applied to the first born son. Niuē folks are rather given to dropping the letter 'r' (or 'l') in words in which other branches retain it; in this they resemble the Marquesans, who have lost the 'r' altogether from their dialect, and their word for a chief is *haka-iki*. In Tonga the word is *eiki*. Mr. Lawes told me that he thought the *iki* were chiefs who had risen for some reason, perhaps as warriors, to a higher position, and that the name is possibly of comparative modern use. If so, it would have come from Tonga, and not Samoa, where the form is *ali'i*. But, though I am loth to question any statement of Mr. Lawes', the fact of this word being found in the ancient invocation called "Ulu lologo o Maletoa," seems to show it to have been in use for a very long time,—so long that the language of this invocation is hardly understood by most people.

The name *patu*, which represents the head of a family, is more commonly used than *iki*. This is no doubt the Eastern Polynesian name *fatu*, used for a lord or chief, the head or core or centre of authority, and is identical with Maori *whatu*, the core or kernel, etc. The *patus* are the heads of the *fagai*, already described, and they form the local *fonos*, or councils of each village, and with the *ikis* fill the various offices required in the polity of Niuē such as (in modern times) the magistrates (*fakafili*), the police (*leoleo*), the deacons, and do all the speechifying, which is by no means an unimportant part in every day life. In former times they were the leaders in war, the *toa*, or warriors, and moreover are the principal land owners, though even now one has land of his own by right of ancestral title; at the same time I did hear of cases in which some individuals had been unjustly deprived of their rights by the *patus*.\*

There is no question as to the power the *patus* and *ikis* exercise over the *lalo-tagata*, or lower orders—they were supreme; but I believe all decisions were the result of a consensus of opinion in the *fono* or council.

\* I have mentioned the magistrates and police. I ascertained that for the eleven villages of the island with a population of 4,500, there were twenty-three magistrates and one hundred and twenty-five police, who were paid by appropriating the fines to themselves! I found it necessary to reduce the former to five, the latter to eleven, and arranged that they should be paid by the state.

(To be continued.)



## THE WHENCE OF THE MAORI.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

### PART I.

IT is an interesting subject for research and one on which many opinions have been offered, as to how or in what manner it came to pass, that the ancestors of the Maori people found their way across the broad ocean—known to them as the great Sea of Kiwa—and succeeded in colonising Islands so remote from each other as Hawaii, Rapa-nui (Easter Island) New Zealand and the Chathams. There are writers who apparently incline to the belief that these Polynesian Colonies are the result of mere chance, and that most if not all of the Islands of the Pacific were discovered by wind-tossed errant canoes, that had been driven far out of their course, and so drifted hopelessly on the open sea until by mere good fortune they once more came within sight of land.

It cannot be denied that Islands have been peopled and re-peopled in this manner; and therefore chance may have been one of the factors in this ancient effort to colonise the remote corners of the Earth; but if so, it was certainly the least of them. The writers to whom I have referred have not, I think, sufficiently considered the ancient character and attainments of the Polynesian people, and are prone to regard their migrations from the narrow standpoint of our modern experience; and from this aspect it must be confessed that the modern Maori canoe does appear to be unequal to the transport of men, women, and children, to say nothing of the food and water absolutely necessary for a long sea voyage. I will not now refer to those migrations, which at the present day are recognised as having colonised certain of the Pacific Islands; for that part of my subject will be considered later on. We must first account for the

presence of the Polynesian not only in the Pacific, but also westward in the Eastern Archipelago, and still further west in Madagascar. We must also try to account for the fact, that certain African tribes have linguistic affinities, which would seem to connect them with the Polynesians.

To localise with some degree of certainty the ancient home birth-place of the Maori, we must look for a people who are neither Papuan, Malayan, or Dravidian; a race of men who in days long passed were famous as navigators; for it must be conceded that no bolder or more skilful race of Sea Rovers ever existed than the Polynesian progenitors of the true Maori.

If we carefully examine the old traditions of the Pacific, from whatsoever Island they may be drawn we shall find that a voyage such as that from Tahiti to New Zealand, Rapā-nui, or Hawaii was made not only without hesitation, but also on the least possible provocation. In no other way can we account for the large number of canoes which Maori tradition asserts to have visited the shores of New Zealand. It is moreover obvious, that, as the Maori has not been a trader for the last thousand years of his history,—whatever he may have been previous to that date—these voyages must have been undertaken either from mere motives of curiosity, or from pure love of adventure. My reason for adopting this conclusion is, that though we hear of the visits of many famous Sea Rovers to the Coast of New Zealand, but few of them remained there, at any rate they have left no descendants in that part of the country; we may therefore presume that they were merely passing visitors.

This indifference to the dangers and discomforts incidental to a long and dreary sea-voyage, in vessels that at the best were not more safe, if indeed so safe, as an ordinary whale-boat, must be the result of evolution; only to be attained by a race naturally brave and adventurous. It must indeed be the result of familiarity with dangers during many generations, and of minds fortified by the tradition of numerous successful though hazardous voyages.

The Polynesians, including the Maoris of New Zealand, have very distinct traditions to the effect that at a very remote period of their history they migrated East into the Pacific, from a place called Hawaiki,\* and further they speak of subsequent migrations from other places, many of which were called Hawaiki in loving memory of their ancient home. External evidence confirms this tradition, in so far that all through the Pacific we find the name of Hawaiki reproduced under varying forms; such as Habai, Savai'i, and Hawaii.

\* One of the very early migrations to New Zealand claim that they came from Mata-ora, not to be confounded with Hawaiki.

in New Zealand we have at least one Hawai,\* and in the great Island of Ceram in the Eastern Archipelago, we have not only the name of Hawaii, but also a Polynesian colony living in that neighbourhood, among, but apart from their foreign neighbours.

If the traditions to which I have referred are reliable, we may fairly expect to find evidence thereof; for instance we should find:

1. Colonies of Polynesians on some of the islands of the Malay Archipelago, that being the undoubted route of the migration.
2. We may hope to trace the name of Hawaiki back to its source.
3. We should find some trace of the ancient stock from which the Maori has sprung, and should recognise these people, either by the structure of their language, similarities of custom, or physical characteristics.

If we are to locate the ancient home of the Maori, we must I think pay special attention to three most important lines of enquiry. We ought to ascertain what ancient people were pre-eminent in maritime enterprise. We ought to locate the origin of the word Maori or Mauri, and, lastly, we should trace back the name of Hawa or Hawaiki to its source.

Many of those writers who have endeavoured to trace the origin of the Polynesians have treated this subject as though it was beyond all doubt that they were Malays. By what method of reasoning they have arrived at this conclusion it is not easy to say; unless indeed their minds have been biased by the fact that some three per cent. of Polynesian words are derived from the Malay.† Mr. A. R. Wallace, in his fascinating book "The Malay Archipelago," explains this occurrence by saying that though the brown Polynesians may remotely have been the produce of some Malay or lighter coloured Mongol race, with the dark Papuan; yet, if so, the inter-mingling took place at such a remote epoch, that it has become a fixed and stable race, showing no sign of mongrelism; and he adds "The occurrence of a decided Malay element in the Polynesian language, has evidently nothing to do with any such ancient physical connection. It is altogether a recent phenomenon, originating in the roaming habits of the chief Malay tribes, and this is proved by the fact that we find actual modern words of the Malay and Javanese languages in use in Polynesia so little disguised by peculiarities of pronunciation, as to be easily cognisable. Not mere Malay roots, only to be detected by the

\* Besides several places named Hawaiki.—ED.

† We should be inclined to put it the other way: three per cent of the Polynesian words have been adopted into the Malay dialect.—ED.



philologist, as would certainly have been the case had their introduction been as remote as the origin of a very distinct race, a race as different from the Malay in mental and moral, as it is in physical characters."

After this expression of opinion on the part of so able a man as the author of "*The Malay Archipelago*", we may safely reject the theory, of a Malay origin for the Maoris. We may also put on one side the theory, that the Malay element in the Maori language has any connection with the roaming habits of the former people. That the Malay or some other Mongol tribe, may have a good deal to do with the formation of the tribes now in occupation of the Carolines, and the adjacent Groups is quite possible; but we have no reason to suppose that they ever visited the Eastern Pacific, which is the home of the true Polynesian. Had Mr. Wallace known the last named people and their history, he would probably have arrived at the conclusion, that it was they who had passed through the Eastern Archipelago, and that they had left that locality shortly after the Malays arrived in that neighbourhood.

Mr. Wallace is evidently under the impression that what he terms the brown Polynesian, is but a modification of the Papuan. It must however be remembered that he had not seen the true Polynesian, and probably did not know the radical differences in the structure of the two languages. During his travels in the Archipelago he was off the line of route of the Polynesian migrations, and in some instances actually among colonies of that people; but it seems possible that these tribes, however distant they may have been at one time, must have become more or less modified both in physical type and language by inter-marriage, very much as we find to be the case at Fiji; and therefore Mr. Wallace was not in a position to judge fairly between the Papuan and the Polynesian.

It will not be out of place if I here give Mr. Wallace's description of the Malays with whom he sojourned, for not only was he one of the most competent of modern observers, but he also spent many years among these very people, and therefore enjoyed opportunities, that have fallen to the lot of but few travellers. He describes the Malay as "Impassive in character, exhibiting extreme diffidence and even bashfulness; in stature much below the European, face broad and flat, nostrils broad and slightly exposed, cheek bones prominent. They are when alone the Malay is taciturn, and neither talks nor sings to himself. That he is is cautious of giving offence even to his equal and does not quarrel easily about money matters; he even dislikes asking too frequently for the payment of his just debts." Mr. Wallace is further of the opinion that the Malay is rather deficient in intellect, and incapable of anything beyond the simplest combination

of ideas. These are the impressions of a man who not only knew the Malays well, but also appreciated their simple kindly character, and he could hardly have described a people more unlike the Polynesian generally, or the Maori especially. Whether physically or mentally we have here a race of men described, who have actually no affinity with the tall and self-assertive, though dignified Polynesians who although intensely appreciative of a joke, would nevertheless resent a liberty as quickly as a Malay; men so tenacious of their rights that they would walk twenty miles to demand a shilling, if they believed it to be justly due to them, and would never cease to demand it so long as it was owing,

That the Maori and other Polynesian tribes have Papuan or Melanesian blood in their veins, is however quite possible; for we have reason to suppose that the migrations dwelt for some years among the Melanesian people of Whiti (Fiji) and other places. There are also a few Maori tribes, such as the Ngati-Hako of the Thames, and in a less degree the Tuhoe, whose features seem to bear witness in favour of an admixture of Mongol blood, but whence derived I cannot say, though it has been suggested to me that it is an inheritance from the old Mongol and Naga stock of the Himalayas. The two tribes I have mentioned are generally admitted to be the descendants of the most ancient of all the migrations to New Zealand, and they may possibly have inter-married with the ancient owners of the land, or on the other hand may have been among the last to emigrate from the land of the Malay, and finding that all the islands of Polynesia were occupied, were compelled to push on to New Zealand. Whatsoever the cause, it is very certain that they differ greatly from the Ngati-Maru, Waikato, or other high class tribes.

Mr. Wallace has described the Papuan with the same masterly hand, but it is unnecessary to quote his views on the subject of that race; our interest centres in that portion of his book wherein he describes the so-called Alfuros (indigenes). I have already stated that Polynesian tradition affirms, that they migrated into the Pacific by successive stages from the west; settling for a generation or more wherever it suited them to do so, and my chief object in quoting this valuable work is, that if we may judge from the descriptions he has given, there are still Polynesian colonies settled on the route taken by them perhaps twenty centuries ago. Speaking of the Moluccas, he says, "The islands of Obi and Batchian and the three southern peninsulas of Gilolo possess no indigenous population, but the northern peninsula is inhabited by a native race, the so-called Alfuros of Sahoe and Gillela. These people are quite distinct from the Malay, and almost equally so from the Papuan." This statement he afterwards modifies somewhat, for he says in effect, that in stature, features, disposition and habits,

they are almost Papuans; but that their hair is only semi-Papuan being crisp and waved and rough, and further that in colour they are even lighter than the Malay.\*

Of the Galela men, he says that they are great wanderers over the part of the Archipelago, and that they build large and roomy prahus with out-riggers, and settle on any coast or island they may fancy. He moreover describes them as a very fine race, tall and light complexioned, with Papuan features, more closely resembling the drawings and descriptions of the true Polynesians than any people he had seen.

On the plateau of Tondano in Celebes, he found a people as white as the Chinese, with pleasing semi-European features; and of the population of Siau and Sanguir, he remarks that he believes them to be emigrants from northern Polynesia. It did not, of course, occur to Mr. Wallace that the Polynesians, whether northern or southern, had migrated thence into the Pacific, and yet such has been the case. In the great island of Ceram there is a tribe resembling those of northern Gilolo, and there also we find one of their towns or districts, bearing the truly Polynesian name of Sawai. In the small islands Saou and Rotti, west of Timur, there is a peculiar race of people, described by Mr. Wallace as being handsome, with good features, and resembling the progeny of Arabs or Hindus with the Malays, and these people he thinks are certainly distinct from both Papuan and Timurese. The details given of the inhabitants of these two islands, are too meagre to enable the reader to form an opinion as to their racial affinities, but it is strange that there should be this one isolated case of Arab blood. As to the Hindu blend, it is probably out of the question, since they, of all the races of men, are the most unwilling to trust themselves on the black water. The most reasonable conclusion we can come to as to these people is, perhaps, that when the Polynesians reached these islands they either found them desert or were themselves in such numbers that they found it an easy matter to kill off or otherwise dispose of the indigenes; and therefore it happens that we have here the true Polynesian, without the usual Papuan cross. One thing is at least certain, that if there be men of pure Polynesian blood in the Eastern Archipelago, then they are not likely to be found out of small and isolated islands. Under all other circumstances matrimonial alliances would be a condition precedent to the existence of an ordinary Maori migration, who, however brave they might be, were numerically weak.

\* It is probable that Wallace, in referring to the Alfuros, speaks of a different race to that alluded to by Earl in his "The Native Races of the Indian Archipelago-Papuans" for he certainly classes them amongst the Papuan. Alfuro is a Portuguese word, meaning "freedmen" i.e. "independent tribes who dwell beyond the influence of the coast settlements."—p. 62, Ed.

I have already pointed out that the Maoris are not a race of Pacific autochthones; but that they migrated from the west probably some twenty centuries ago, and since that date have gradually occupied every island east of Fiji, even islands so insignificant as the Chathams, for it may not be denied that the Moriori are Polynesians. We have also the independent evidence of Mr. Wallace, who supports these traditions so far that he confirms the route taken by the Polynesians in their migrations towards the rising sun, and proves that there are colonies of that people yet to be seen on the line of route, living among the woolly-haired Papuans, but easily distinguishable from them. I may also point out that it is not a characteristic of the Papuan to devote himself to canoe building, in order that he may travel about from island to island, in the manner mentioned by Mr. Wallace when speaking of the Alfuros. His tendency is rather to live in a state of murderous enmity, with both neighbours and relatives; and that this has been his character for many generations we may infer from the fact, that in one small island there may be as many as five distinct dialects, differing as widely as English does from French; a state of things that shows conclusively that their normal condition had been that of savage isolation. On the other hand, in his description of the Alfuros he has accurately described the class of men, who alone could carry out the great work of colonising the small and distant islands of the Pacific, and by them I think we may say that this work was done.

So far we have traced the Maori or Polynesian backwards from the Pacific into the Eastern Archipelago, and it now remains to follow that ancient trail still further to the west, with the hope of locating the ancient home and race from which the Polynesian has sprung.

There are certain persons, now or lately living in the Pacific, who are entitled to be quoted as authorities on the subject of Polynesian migrations, I will therefore cite the opinions of three of them: namely, the late Judge Fornander, of Hawaii; Mr. Fenton, late Chief Judge of the Native Land Court, New Zealand; and Dr. Carroll, of Sydney. All of these learned authorities trace the Maori in his migrations, either from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.

Judge Fornander, who is probably the most reliable authority on the brown races of the Pacific; follows the traditions of Hawai'i, and traces the Maori from "the Tai Meremere a Tane" (the yellow sea of Tane). This opinion it will be seen is not mere conjecture or idle theory, but has been arrived at after profound study of Hawai'ian traditions, which would appear to be superior to the unwritten records of other Pacific islands.

Mr. Fenton, of Auckland, who was an undoubted authority upon Maori subjects, supports Fornander's conclusions so far, that he also



ascribes to the Maori the same origin, and indicates the Sabaeans as the stock from whence they have sprung. He points out that the Sabaeans were notable sea-rovers and merchants, who are known to have visited Java and the East years before the Christian era; and that one of the most powerful sections of these people were the Himyarites, or Mahri who were driven from the continent of Asia by Chosroes the Persian, between the years 560 and 600 A.D. These people, though often called Arabs, were probably not Semitic.\* but of the same stock as the ancient Egyptians, between whom and the Maoris there appears to be a similarity of language which is sufficiently curious to those who consider the distance intervening between Egypt and the Pacific. Let us, however, remember that the ancient ethnical name of Mauri can be traced from the Mauri or Moors of Mauritania to the Mahri of the Red Sea, to the Mori of Luzon, to the Maruts of Amboyna, and then to the Maori and Mori-ori of the Pacific. A very remarkable combination of circumstances favours Mr. Fenton's theory since he shows that the tribe expelled was the Mahri, that their city was Saba or as the Maori would call it Hawa and last but by no means least he shows that they were essentially a maritime people, traders who had long known the islands to which they were about to migrate.

The wide distribution of the racial name of Mauri, is a matter the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated; the more so when we find it in almost every instance accompanied by the equally ancient territorial name of Saba, under one or other of its many linguistic disguises. For instance we are told that Singapore was formerly known by the name of Zaba, and the same name appears in both Australia and Java. Sumatra was at one time known as little Java. In the great Island of Ceram we find for the first time Sawa-i (Hawa minor) and in the Pacific it is hardly possible to find a group of islands without some one of them bearing the old name of Hawa.

Dr. Samuel Morton—"Indigenous Races of the Earth"—is of opinion that the ancient Egyptians were a Caucasian race, and that their modern representatives are Copts, Tuaricks, Kabyles, and Berbers,—that is so far as the last named three tribes are concerned the very people who were once known as the Mauri. For when speaking of the Lybians he says, "From the most ancient times the Berber, or Amazirg, have been known as the Mauri, the unconquerable man of the desert, who from the earliest times have been an independent group of tribes, as distinct from their neighbours as the

\* That the language of the Mahri may now be Semitic in character will not affect the question, since it is probable that even the tribe may now be Semitic by race as well as by language, though it does not prove that they were always so.

Chinese—living among the Negroes, but not of them, and as unlike their nearest neighbours, the Arabs.” Maury is of opinion that the Juktanide Arabs, who are also called Mahiri, are a Semitic race, but all authors do not agree with him on this point, and perhaps we shall be justified in supposing that he is not right, inasmuch as the Berber are not Semitic, and yet they and the Juktanites equally bear the ethnical name of Mauri.

Dr. Carroll, arguing from ethnological and philosophical grounds only, says, “I trace the Maoris back into Pegu, which in former times was called Hawa, and I find them further back still in Ava, or Awa, on the Irrawadi, in what is now Burmah, where the Mauri, or Mauri-ya, formerly resided. Before that they were in Central India, where the Mauri-ya princes and people have a very interesting history. Previous to that some of these people were settled in Burattu, or Burutu, along the central part of the Euphrates river in Mesopotamia. This is the Pulotu or spirit land of Maori tradition.” \* Here we have not only the name of the ancient home of the Maori people preserved but also their racial name of Mauri.

Dr. Carroll’s opinion is not at variance with those of Fenton and Fornander, who hold, I think with reason, that although the Polynesians visited, and probably colonised the shores of Indo-China, and most certainly did occupy many of the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, where their descendants may still be found, yet they are but a migration from far distant lands, and not a people indigenous to those shores or islands. We know that the Hovas of Madagascar are akin to the Polynesian, and Dr. Morton tells us “that the languages of the Soudan have surprised philologers by their Polynesian affinities.” Now this is a matter of the utmost importance, for we may presume affinity of race if we find the grammatical construction of two languages identical. The language of Polynesia is archaic in form and very singular in its construction, therefore if we find that of the Soudan closely resembling it we have found a very singular thing—that is, we have discovered two nations widely separated from each other, who from their very birth down to the present day have thought exactly in the same grove, for what is language if not the expression of our thoughts?

Men learned in the science of language are of opinion that the mere chance resemblance of a few words in two distinct languages is of but little importance, and were this not the case we might be compelled to consider the claims of the Pamir plateau as the birthplace of the Maori people; for in that very clever work, “Where Three Empires Meet,” the author invariably refers to the cliffs of the Hindu

\* This is not a Maori name, strictly speaking, but Samoan and Tongan.—ED.

Kush as the "pari." Now this is beyond all doubt a Maori word, indeed it is the only word I know that would convey to a Maori mind the idea of cliff or precipice. This may of course be somewhat more than a coincidence, but it would not justify us in assuming that the tribes of that region are of Maori stock. While on this subject I may mention that I have seen it stated that certain tribes of the Himalayas used the word "Punalua" to express the condition of having more than one wife or husband. The Maori uses the word Punarua to describe the condition of having more than one wife.\*

In concluding this chapter, I may say that wherever the cradle of the Polynesian race may eventually be decided to be, it cannot alter the fact that a well defined connection exists between the languages of African tribes and those of Polynesia. Unfortunately, we can never know the real history of the Maori people. We can never do more than advance theories founded on traditions, which are but imperfectly known even to the most learned Maoris of the present day, and which, not unfrequently, appear to have been made up for the occasion. The old teachings were sacred by reason of the ceremonies of the *wharekura*, wherein the instruction was given, and therefore the missionaries during their brief period of authority—extending from the year 1840 to 1860—discouraged all teaching of ancient lore, and hence much of the old time Maori history has been lost.

If, however, we know but little of old Maori history, it is clear that we know still less of that of Polynesia and its many islands, all of which undoubtedly had a history, even before the Maori appeared on the scene, and complicated matters by destroying the original inhabitants, whose handiwork may yet be seen.

We may well ask, Who were the Anuts, who are known to the Lele islanders, by tradition, as the builders of those Cyclopean enclosures with walls twelve feet in thickness; who are also credited with having made the stone-faced canals of Ualan, Ponape, and other islands in the Western Pacific, and who are said to have been sea rovers, owning immense canoes in which they made voyages of many months duration?

Who built the Druidical circle called Fale-o-le-Fe'e on the head waters of the Vai-Singano in Upolu; the cromlech on Ponape, or that of Tongatapu, which differs from all other cromlechs? Who were the builders of the truncated pyramids (Marae) of the Society Islands, or the Heiau, of Hawai'i, such as the Pohaku a Kane? Above all, who

\* If Colonel Gudgeon had extended his comparison to the customs of races inhabiting some parts of the Himalaya ranges not far from "where three empires meet" he would have found many of them identical with those of the Polynesians. Indeed in our opinion he is here, much nearer the source of the Polynesian race than elsewhere.—ED.

were the Menehune or Manahune people who are said to have built the fish ponds of Molokai? Is it possible that the Manahune were like the Amata of the Chatham Islands, aboriginal inhabitants?; but this is mere surmise. The tendency at the present day is to suppose that all of these questions can be solved, and I quite expect to be informed shortly as to the date on which these things were done, as also the names of the chiefs who did the work, and if I do receive this intelligence I shall not be surprised; but none the less I shall not alter my opinion that the Polynesian did not know all of these things only a short ten years ago. But his education has reached this point, that he is now capable of noting the extreme value we place on minute information, and is inclined to be ashamed that he does not know more of his history. The result of this dual feeling is, that when he really comprehends what you want to know he draws upon his imagination for your benefit.

[Everyone is entitled to his own opinion; and Colonel Gudgeon, who is one of our ablest Maori scholars and historians, seems to think that there was a prior race or races in the Pacific, before the time of the Polynesians. On the other hand we hold the opinion that the Polynesians were the first to occupy the islands where they are now found—with the one exception, perhaps, of Easter Island. The few references to a previous race to be found in Polynesian traditions, are capable of another explanation, which to us is far more reasonable.—ED.]

*(To be continued.)*



## OBITUARY.

WE regret to have to announce the death of four of our members since the last publication of the JOURNAL.

**The Rt. Rev. Dr. W. G. Cowie**, Primate of New Zealand, died at Auckland, New Zealand, 26th June, 1902. The late Bishop was one of our original members and founders, and always took an interest in the affairs of the Society, though his numerous and onerous duties prevented his contributing to the JOURNAL. We take the following from the "Taranaki Herald"—The Rev. W. G. Cowie was ordained by Bishop Turton, of Ely, deacon in 1854, priest in 1855. After holding curacies at St. Clements, Cambridge, and Moulton, Suffolk, he was appointed to an army chaplaincy in India, and went to Lucknow with Sir Colin Campbell's army in 1858, being one of the chaplains of the division commanded by Sir Robert Walpole, and was present throughout the operations which ended in the capture of that city. After five years of army chaplain's work in India, he was chaplain to the Viceroy's camp (Lord Elgin) in 1863. After Lord Elgin's death, he was appointed chaplain to Sir Neville Chamberlain's column in the expedition against the Afghan tribes in the end of 1863, and was present at the capture of Laloo, receiving the medals for the two campaigns. In 1864 he became chaplain to the Bishop of Calcutta (Dr. Cotton), and accompanied him on his travels in the north of India. In 1865 he was chaplain on duty in Cashmere, and in 1867 was appointed by the Lord Chancellor to the Rectory of St. Mary's, Stafford. Dr. Cowie was selected Bishop of Auckland by Bishop Selwyn in England, the Diocesan Synod of Auckland having delegated to him its rights of nomination, on the understanding that he should appoint a clergyman in England. It also requested him to take the necessary steps for the consecration of his nominee, and Bishop Cowie was accordingly consecrated, under royal mandate, by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait) on St. Peter's Day, 1869, in Westminster Abbey.

**Mr. N. J. Tone**, another of our founders, died at Wellington on the 18th June, 1902. His name is well known to the Society, as he acted more than once as one of its joint secretaries. Mr. Tone was for many years a surveyor attached to the New Zealand Survey Department, in which capacity he rendered excellent service in opening up the country for settlement. At one time he acted for some years as Chief Surveyor to the North Borneo Chartered Company, and on his return to New Zealand became Secretary to the School Commissioners of Wellington, an office he held at the time of his death. Mr. Tone is a great loss, not only to the Society, but to all who knew him; his genial manners and upright character having endeared him to all who came in contact with him.

**Mr. F. Arthur Jackson**, of Jackson's Dale, Fiji, was also one of the founders of the Society, and has frequently contributed to the pages of the JOURNAL, especially on the subject of the "Fire-walking" ceremony in Fiji. Mr. Jackson was a lieutenant in the New Zealand militia at one time, and served in the Maori war. He died in Fiji, where he had resided for many years, in the early months of this year.

**Mr. F. F. Watt**, of Rotorua, another of our members who took considerable interest in the objects of the Society, passed away since our last issue.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

### [153] The "Pua" Game of Atiu (See note No. 147, Vol. X. p. 206).

As to the Pua mentioned above, I have no theory to suggest as to the change of names. Another, and probably the earlier name used for the thing itself, was *ulu*, a bread-fruit. Doubtless the hard unripe fruit of the *ulu* was at first used as a bowl. This, I think, suggested the spherical-shaped stone, of which many specimens have been found, particularly in the district of Kohala, Hawaii. In size, many do not differ much from the fruit, for which they are named. Others are somewhat smaller. As an improvement on the stone *ulu*, I have seen an *ulu-maika* shaped like a sphere slightly flattened at the poles. The ordinary *maika* or *ulu-maika* is thinner and lighter. I have collected a large number, most of which are in the Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu; they were mostly obtained from Kona, Hawaii, and from the island of Oahu. Those found by me at Ka'u, Hawaii, were of the older and ruder type, thick and unpolished. The change of name from *ulu* (bread-fruit) to *hua* (? *pua*) fruit, is easy and natural. I can at present offer no explanation of the word *maika*.—J. S. EMERSON.

[The Hawaiian word *ulu*, for bread-fruit, is the South Polynesian word *kuru*, for the same tree and its fruit. It is suggested that the word *uru* or *ulu* probably meant originally 'round,' 'spherical,' as in the words for 'head'—*uru-o-te-rangi*, &c., the head or roundness of the heavens, &c. If so, possibly the Hawaiian term is derived from this meaning rather than the bread-fruit.—ED.]

### [154] The "Pua" Game of Atiu.

In note No. 147 (Vol. X. p. 206 and in note No. 153 above) will be found an account of the bowls used in this game at Atiu Island (north part of the Cook Group). The five-pointed star there referred to has excited some interest, and consequently Colonel Gudgeon was written to asking him to ascertain if this really was a bona fide ancient mark used by the natives. He now replies, "I have at last managed to discover that the *pua* bowls are marked with the three triangle cypher under an old superstition that the bowl so marked would in the natural order of things have an advantage over others marked in a different manner. Of course the people do not know why they should have been so impressed, but clearly it is an interesting survival." An enlargement of this figure will be seen in the margin, the length of the side of each triangle in the original is 0.5 inches. It is clearly the Pentalpha of very ancient times. The Rev. J. W. Horsley, M.A., in "*Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*," Vol. XV. Part I, p. 51, thus refers to it, "This second symbol goes by various names, derived from its shape or use. Pentalpha it is called because it can be formed by five capital alphas or As superimposed. Pentagram or Pentaen-tum Solomonis refers again to its shape, and the latter term shews that mediæval and modern Kabalists considered it (not necessarily on sure grounds) the design on Solomon's signet. With them, the five points refer



*Pentalpha on Pua-bowl  
from Atiu Island.*

to the Spirit, Air, Fire, Water and Earth. With them also it is taken as the sign of the Microcosm, man, as the Hexalpha denoted the Macrocosm, or the universe,

and whereas in modern Hermetic Magic the Hexalpha refers to the sun and planets, the Pentalpha refers to the elements as given (above). . . . From old Greek times the Pentagram has been the symbol of Hygeia and Health, and is mentioned by Pythagoras, &c." The Encyclopædic Dictionary refers to it thus (and gives a sketch identical with the figure on the *Pua*), "Pentageron, a mystical figure produced by prolonging the sides of a regular pentagon till they intersect. It can be made without a break in the drawing, and viewed from five sides exhibits the same form as the Greek A. (Pentalpha). According to Lucian, it served the Pythagoreans for a salutation and symbol of health. In German Mythology it was regarded as the foot-print of swan-footed Nornen, till, as Christianity gained ground, these beings were looked on as witches and evil spirits. Henceforward this sign was, with the sign of the cross, placed at the door to prevent the entrance of Druden and witches, but any break in the figure caused it to lose its virtue (cf. Goethe: *Faust*, pt. i.)."—Ed.

[155] "The Leina-Kauhane" in Hawaii.

With reference to note No. 149 (Vol. XI. p. 44), I send you with this a sketch of the west end of the Island of Oahu, showing the position of the Leina-Kauhane (Maori: Reinga-wairua) as related to that portion of the island. From this you will see that it is on the land near the shore line, about three-quarters of a mile from the western end of the Island of Oahu, known as Ka Lae-o-Kaena, or Kaena Point. The Leina-Kauhane is a large rock on a level plain, overlooking the sea with its sandy shore. On passing it the other day in the steam-cars, I was surprised to see a couple of little straw huts leaning against it. I presume they must have been erected by Japanese fisherman, for it is difficult to believe that any native Hawaiian would think of spending a night there where the spirits are supposed to pass.—J. E. EMERSON.

[156] Canoe Making in Olden Times. See note No. 152 J.P.S. Vol. XI.

A similar case has come under my notice to that mentioned by the late Mr. Tone. I am informed by my son that on the property of Mr. Jennings, of Motueka, Nelson, there used to stand a hollow totara tree. The Maoris said this was caused by their people in years gone by purposely cutting out a strip of bark so that the sap would be exposed and decay set up, resulting in that side of the tree becoming hollow as described in Mr. Tone's note, and very greatly lessening the labour required in transposing the tree trunk into a canoe. This particular totara tree had not been used for a canoe for the reason that the top had died out and a growth of branches had sprung out lower down the trunk, thus shortening and spoiling its use for canoe purposes.—W. H. SKINNER.

[157] Canoe Making in Olden Time.

I have seen a whole group of totara trees thus marked in the Oxford bush Canterbury. The trees were growing close together, nearly on top of a hill about a mile and a half from the outskirts of the forest. About six were scarfed; whilst I noticed the marking, examining it carefully, I concluded the object had been to kill the wood on one side of the tree, and thus make it quite easy to either burn or hollow it out when the tree was to be made into a canoe. The marking consisted in cutting out an oblong piece of bark, about three feet long and one foot wide, and chipping the sap wood above and below to a depth of about a quarter of an inch. The stone axe marks were quite plainly visible on the dead wood, though the living wood and bark had grown all round the scarves to a height of several inches. Most of the trees were dead, or hollow on the scarf side, one in particular must have been hollow for nearly its whole length. The trees were comparatively young, from one and a-half to two feet in diameter, and quite straight. Totara trees are rather scarce in Oxford forest.—T. N. BRODRICK.



## TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

### POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

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A MEETING of the Council was held in New Plymouth, on August 26th, 1902, Mr. W. Kerr in the chair. Amongst other business transacted was the following :—

New members elected :—

344 James Cowan, "Star" Office, Auckland, N.Z.

345 Geo. Graham, c/o Wynyard & Purchas, Auckland, N.Z.

346 Mrs. Jane Brown, Auckland, N.Z.

Papers received :—

242 A Kumara Planting Song. J. Cowan.

243 An Arawa *Tangi*. J. Cowan.

244 The Vigesimal System of Counting, Aitutaki Island. J. T. Large.

245 The Manu, or Maori Kite. A. Hamilton.

Four members were struck off the roll for non-payment of subscriptions, and the deaths of four others (see Obituary) were reported.

It was ordered that a copy of the following resolution be sent to the Hon. the Native Minister :—

"That the Native Minister be urged by this Society finally to approve and have gazetted regulations under "The Maori Antiquities Act, 1901," in order that the provisions of the Act may become actively operative, and that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to each member of Parliament who is a member of the Society."

The following is a list of Exchanges, &c., received since last Meeting :—

1320 *Memoirs, Pauahi Bishop Museum*. Vol. 1, No. 4. Ancient Hawaiian Stone Implements. (Will be reviewed next *Journal*)

1321 *La Géographie*. April, 1902.

1322 *Boletín de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*. Vol. ii., No. 3.

1323-25 " " " Vol. v., Nos. 13, 14, 15.

1326 *The Geographical Journal*. May, 1902.

1327-8-9 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute*. March, April, May, 1902.

1330 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. May, 1902.

1331 *Science of Man*. February, 1902.

1332 " " June, 1902.

1333 *La Géographie*. May, 1902.

1334 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*. Deel xlv.

1335 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Deel xxxix.—4.

1336 *Brieven van an Aan*. Mr. H. J. Van de Graaf. 1816-1826. Deel 1-2.



- 1337-8 *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien.* Band  
xxx.—4, 5, 6. 1900.
- 1339 *Na Mata.* June, 1902.
- 1340-41 *Science of Man.* May, July, 1902.
- 1342-1345 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de  
Barcelona.* Vol. iv., Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19.
- 1346-47 *Journal Royal Colonial Institute.* June and July, 1902.
- 1348-49 *Berichte über Land-und Forestwirtschaft in Deutsch-Ostafrika.*  
Heft 1-2.
- 1350-51 *Bulletin et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris.*  
Vol. xii., 4-6.
- 1352 *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris.* June, 1902.
- 1353 *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indé.*  
Deel liv.
- 1354 *Register of de Eerste 50 Deelen (1853-1899) van de "Bijdragen tot de  
Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië.* June, 1901
- 1355 *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris.* June, 1902.
- 1356 *The Tokyo Imperial University Calender.* 1901-2.
- 1357 *Eighteenth Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.* Part 2.  
1899.



## NIUĒ ISLAND, AND ITS PEOPLE.

BY S. PERCY SMITH.

### PART III.

#### RELIGION.

IT is very difficult at this period to say exactly what the ancient religion of the Niuē people was, but no doubt it did not differ very much from that of the rest of the race, seeing that at one period very early in their history, and when the main ideas embodied in their faith were being evolved, the whole Polynesian people must have dwelt together, having one ritual and one belief. But this period is so far back in the centuries that innovations have gradually been introduced, especially where the environment of any particular section has differed materially from that of the rest.

Tagaloa was the principal god (*atua*, meaning also a spirit, ghost) of Niuē, and according to tradition he was a "leader of armies," or in other words, the god of war.\* Fata-a-iki says, in his paper, that Tagaloa brought blessings on the island. Again, "*Ko e patu-tupua a Niuē-fekai ko Tagaloa. Liogi oti ni ki a Tagaloa, ka tau e motu nai: 'Takina mai Tagaloa; takina mai Tagaloa!' Ole oti ni e motu ki a Tagaloa. Ko e liogi he motu nai i tuai, kua liogi ni ke malaia e tagata, fekaiaālu aki ni.*" "The *patu-tupua* (or chief endowed with supernatural powers—chief god) of Niuē-fekai was Tagaloa. All prayed to Tagaloa, when the island went to war, 'Lead forth Tagaloa! Lead forth Tagaloa!' The prayers of the people in former times were that men (enemies) might have misfortune brought on them; they mutually cursed one another."

Whilst Tagaloa held the supreme position amongst the gods, as he did in Samoa, Rarotonga, Tahiti, and Hawaii (in later times), but not in New Zealand, there were other gods, amongst them Tu, who was,

\* He appears also to have been a god of war with the Morioris, but I think with no other branch of the race.

as the people say, a *mahele*, or albino. Tu was known to most branches of the race, and with the Maoris he was their war-god, and most powerful of all in later ages, though there are strong reasons for believing that Tāne was the principal Maori as well as the principal Hawaiian god in early days. I think neither he nor Rongo are known to the Niuē Pantheon. These four make up the quartette of primary gods of the Polynesian race. The *tupuas* mentioned several times in the legends I have, are clearly almost identical with the *tupuas* of New Zealand, and I think that the Niuē people would not, any more than the Maoris, place them in the same rank as the greater gods properly so called. They were beings possessed of supernatural powers, acting sometimes as guardians or familiar spirits, and sometimes as malicious beings—generally the latter. Originally, in my opinion, they represented the embodiment of the powers of nature. However, this is not the place to go into that question, about which a great deal might be said. *Tupua* is a term often applied to human beings, especially if they possessed, or were accredited with, powers transcending ordinary human experience. Such was the company of *tupuas* who came to Niuē in the early days and colonised it, about which we shall learn later on.

According to Fata-a-iki there were four principal *tupuas* in Niuē : he says : “ *Ko e tupua he Ulu-lauta i Mutalau ko Huanaki ; ko e tupua ke he Mui-fonua ko Lua-tupua ; i Liku, ko Makapoe-lagi ; ko e tupua ke he fahi lalo nai ko Lage-iki.* ” “ The *tupua* of Ulu-lauta (or north end of the island) at Mutalau was Huanaki ; that at Mui-fonua (the land's end, south end) was Lua-tupua ; that at Liku was Makapoe-lagi ; and that on the west coast was Lage-iki.” In this, Fata-a-iki allows a *tupua* to each quarter of the island. Whether these *tupuas* or any other gods were ever represented by idols in any form, I know not, but *tupua* is the word used for idol in the Niuē version of the Scriptures—though this was probably only a derivative meaning. It will be clear from what follows in Part IV., that one of these *tupuas* (Lage-iki) was a human being originally, but that he had become in the process of time a sort of guardian spirit for the west coast of the island, for I was shown a place on the reef where he was supposed to dwell, and there manifest himself to the later generations in the form of a fountain of salt-water shot up from a blow-hole—this would be called a *tupua* in New Zealand. Maori scholars will recognise in Lua-tupua (the *tupua* of the south end of the island), a very familiar name (Rua-tupua) found in Maori *karakias*. For reasons which are too lengthy to state here, I assume that this Niuē *tupua* was named after a far more ancient one. Again, we shall see that Huanaki, the *tupua* of the north end of the island, and all his children were men, he being one of the original migrants to the island.

Māui is included by most writers on Polynesian subjects as one of the gods of the race. I doubt if any old Polynesian, if he had been asked, say, just about the time of the first intercourse with white people, would have called him a god. He is rather a hero of remote antiquity, around whom in the process of time has gathered a halo of miraculous deeds, many of them performed by others. He is known to the Niuē people, but from the slight notices I have of him, he is merely a hero who has attained to much glory (*lilifu*) through his actions. It was he who forced up the heavens from their original position resting on the earth, and it was he who completed the work of Fāo and Huanaki in raising Niuē to its present elevation above the level of the sea.\* Their story of Māui is very similar to that of the Maoris, but with local colouring. It is quite inconsistent when considered in connection with the history of Fāo and Huanaki, and it seems to me can best be explained by the supposition that we here have the effect of admixture of two series of traditions overlaying one another, and derived from each of the two elements of which the population is composed. Māui cannot be included amongst the gods of Niuē, properly so called. In Part IV. hereof, paragraph numbered 15, will be found a list of the *tupuas*.

In common with the rest of the race, the Niuē people believed in the existence of the soul (*agaaga*, the soul, spirit) after death; but what was not common to all branches, they held that the good (according to their standard) went to a separate place from the bad. Aho-hololoa, or Aho-noa, was their heaven, and Po their Hades, the latter word being the same with every branch, meaning the darkness of night, the direction of the sunset, towards the original home of the race in the west, to which the spirits of the dead passed to their final resting-place. Another name for heaven was the Motu-a-Hina, this was the second heaven above, but, I fancy, was a separate place from Aho-hololoa. Mankind in former times had many dealings with the inhabitants of the Motu-a-Hina, but it is not clear if they had with those of Aho-hololoa, when once the spirit had left this earth (*lalolagi*). Aho-hololoa is possibly the same place as Auroroa of the Maoris, the dwelling-place of the greater gods.

There were priests in former days called *taula-atua*, whose principal function, however, seems to have been to bewitch (? *makutu*) people. It is still believed that this power is possessed by certain persons. The term used in the Scriptures for priest is *eke-poa*, the offering-maker; but it is a question if this is not a modern term used to distinguish them and their office from the evil practices (*lagatau*) of the *taula-atua*

\* So I was told, but it appears to me there is a confusion of ideas here, due to dimly remembered traditions. To suppose that Māui flourished after the times of Huanaki and Fāo is absurd.



of old. *Poa* is the word now used for offerings to the Church, but it was an old word and meant offerings to the gods. This is the Maori word for bait, an "offering" to fish. The different meanings in the two dialects are significant.

It is clear that there were places in former times which must, to a certain extent have been sacred, where their rites were performed. These are called *tutu*, and are hillocks, more or less flat on top, and which present every appearance of being partly artificial, they would average about 50 to 70 feet long by 20 to 40 feet wide, and are at this date grass covered with houses build on them. In former times they were the sites of *jaituga*, a word which is used in the Niue Scriptures for temple, but probably the Niue temples were of the nature of the Maori *tuāhu*, i.e., the sites where the rites connected with their religion were performed, but were not otherwise occupied by buildings—at any rate of a permanent nature.\* These places have names, several of which were told to me, but they have no interest outside the Island.

Whilst the priests, *taula-atua*, acted in a sacerdotal capacity, it is also clear that the Patu-iki or King had certain duties of a similar nature, which, in the absence of one, it is natural to suppose must have been performed by the higher chiefs. I witnessed an ancient custom in which the present King Togia took part and acted in what may be called the chief priest's office; this was on the occasion of my first meeting the people in assembly at Tuapa, where some 700 or 800 were present, a brief description of which may be of interest in the above connection. As we drove up to the settlement we were met by some elderly women gaily decked out in wreaths and garlands of ferns and flowers, who advanced before us to the King's house dancing with a slow circular movement with much waving of the arms—much like a Maori *pohiri*, but with infinitely less noise. After being seated, the old King gathered around him in a small circle some 8 or 10 old men, the chiefs of the place. The King generally stood within the circle, but sometimes with the others, and he recited in a monotonous tone the long song, or incantation following, the chiefs joining in at certain parts. Every now and then all heads bowed down towards the centre of the circle.

KO E "ULU LOLOGO O MALETOA."

1. Tulai ō, puipui ō,  
Tagaloa ho motu ka tofatofa—  
Tofatofa i a Tui-Niue  
(He) pu mo e fonu ko e ika tapu,  
Na he moana fakalanu  
He mata kai touā.

\* The Samoan temples—*malumalu*—were also erected on high platforms of large stones.—see J. P. S., vol. VIII., p. 234.

2. (Tagaloa ho lagi mamao ē ē ē)  
He uhila kua lapa mai pogipogi,  
To uhu ke liogina,  
Takina a Toga ki hona motu,  
Neke puhia ho Motu-te-fua
3. (Tagaloa ho lagi mamao ē ē ē pūi ō)  
Pule a Tafai he moana, puipui ō:  
Ko e pule a Tafai he moana,  
Ka uia ai (kia) hala ke he lagi,  
(Ka takina hifo ki ho fale-takitaki he fonua,  
Ko na e liua ō ō ō.)
4. Ko Paluki e (ke) vagahau tupua  
To tiu lotoga ai e fonua  
Ato (Ko e) ao fonua ke he tafua  
Ka e tua-fonua ki Fale-una  
Ka (ko) e tapakau mai Hala-kula,  
Fakanofu ki luga o (e) malokūla.
5. (He) atua he ko Lava-ki-umata, puipui-ō.  
Atua he ko Lava-ki-umata  
(To hifo ho aga tau matau,)  
Hifo ponotia (punutia) e tutavaha,  
Tokona a Toga neke hake mai  
Ke luia (puhia) a (ho) Motu-te-fua nai,
6. To galulu ki lagi e uha loa  
Melekina ki ho atu faituga  
Maama ke malolo hifo ai  
He mana ne tagi he lagi havilivili.  
Tagaloa ho motu ka ākihia  
Kua fakatino aki e mahina  
Ke alito aki a Liua-lagi  
Tagaloa ho lagi mamao ē ē ē, pūi ō
7. Leo ni Fiti Kaga he (i) tupua  
Kua hake he tumuaki fonua  
(Fano i ata) Ka hui ata ko e iki tapu,  
Neke (na) lakafia he tupua hau-(kau)-valovalokia.
8. (Kua) hala ki tu (kua) hala ki fonua  
Kai tai, puipui-ō,  
Haliki tu hala ki fonua kai tai,  
To (ka) nuia ha pia,  
Mai e tau lanu maka  
E (a) mana tapu iki-i,  
Ka fina atu e kai havilivili.
9. Hau ha kalī, hau ha liaki,  
Hau hau ha kalī, hau ha liaki,  
To takoto anoano i he lagi afa tō,  
Toki mimio i Matatu  
Mafuike tagi ia Liua, pui-pui-ō.
- (9. Hau ha kalī, hau ha liaki ha afa to,  
Toki mimio i Mataitui,  
I hulugia mafuike tagi ia Liua ui-ou).

The above incantation has already been published in this journal, vol. IX., p. 284,\* but the old men of Niuē say that that version is incorrect. The one above is derived from a copy written out for Mr. Lawes, and also from one written by Fata-a-iki the late King who was a competent authority in such matters. When the latter version differs from the first the words are shown in brackets, and the order of the verses are according to Fata-a-iki's version. The *ulu* is interesting as a specimen of the old Niuē dialect, for we find words in it not now in use, and many verbs with passive terminations that are also not now so used.†

The "Ulu lologo o Maletoa," is an invocation addressed to Tagaloa alone. In the following from Fata-a-iki's paper (*loc. cit.*) several of the *tupuas* of the island are invoked. The occasion on which it is used is obscure. Fata-a-iki merely says: "*Ko e tala ke he huki niu mo e huki kau (? hiku-kau).*" "It relates to piercing a cocoanut and piercing a company." It is as follows:—

Monū Tagaloa !  
 Timata e lele  
 Kolomata e tama tiua loluga.  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
 E Huanaki-tau, Huanaki-tupua  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
 E Fāo-tu-nuku. E Fao-matavalu,  
 E Fāo-tikitiki,  
 E Fiti-ki-tupua, e Fiti-ki-la,  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
  
 E Tali-mai-nuku, E Leo-matagi  
 He fakateete he malētoa.  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē,  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
 E Tu-tauga tulaga momole,  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
 E Lage-iki e fai he moana  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
 E Tupua-kiu, E Tupua-lagi,  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
 E Tama-hei-tau, mo Taufa-o-atua  
     Monū ho inu ē ē ē ē.  
  
 E Lua-tupua, E Lua-fakakana-niu,  
  
 Tui-toga ho motu ka fofo hake  
 Tuanaki ho motu mafiti vave,  
 Mo molemole  
 Fakaoti falō ki tua na motu ē.

\* By Ed. Tregear. It was sung at the visit of the Right Hon. R. J. Seddon to Niuē in May, 1901.

† I am awaiting information from Niuē for the translation, for though much of it is clear to me it is well to have the Native ideas as to meanings.

He motu e iki mo e Tagaloa.

Ne fefutiaki e talia

Mo molemole

Fano fakaoti falō ki tua hana motu ē ē.

Many of the *tupuas* here mentioned will be referred to in Part IV., and some of their functions described.

The people used to assemble at Palūki on certain occasions to offer their prayers, &c., that peace might prevail in the island. And here, says Fata-a-iki (*loc. cit.*) they made the *kava-atua*, which was explained to me as an enclosure built for the purpose of excluding those who were not engaged in the ceremonies in hand, in order that they might be properly performed—*neke fakahanoa*, as Fata-a-iki says, lest they be done anyhow. There can be little doubt that though the term *kava-atua* is applied to the enclosure by the present generation it meant originally the ceremony, and was anciently connected with the function of drinking *kava*, or making a libation of *kava*, which to this day in other islands is accompanied by much ceremony. It is clear from many things that the drinking of *kava* was originally a sacred ceremony, and it will in time probably be connected with the sacred *soma* drink of the ancient inhabitants of India.\* In New Zealand there were several ceremonies of a sacred nature named *kawa*, and they will all be found connected with the *kava* as a sacred drink hereafter. The Niuē people do not drink *kava*; why they differ from other branches of the race, such as Samoans and Tongans, with whom they are most closely related, is difficult to say. It may be through the scarcity of the plant—for though I always paid close attention to the flora of Niuē, I never saw it growing, and had to send to the far side of the island for a specimen.

The gods sometimes communicated with mankind through the proper channels, and they spoke in a whistling voice (*mapu* and *mafu*) as did the gods of the Maori. And like the Maori the Niuē folks have no objection to whistling on that account, such at least was the case formerly.

In cases of sickness formerly, an offering was made to the gods in the form of the *moko-lauulu*, a lizard some eight inches long. The Niuē natives have not the horror and terror of a lizard that the Maori has; it is lucky for them that this is so, for the little brown lizard is exceedingly common. An old-time Maori would find his life unbearable in Niuē on this account.

The people had a god of the winds, but unfortunately I omitted to obtain his name. It is said that a certain hero of old enclosed all the

\* I would suggest as a profitable field for enquiry by some philologist the connection between the *kava* drink of the Polynesians, with the Arabic word *kawah* or coffee. See Crawford's Hist. Ind. Arch. I., p. 486.



winds in a cave at Tatapiu Point, at the N.W. corner of the island but they forced their way out, starting at the northern side, and made their way round to the south; hence, say the wise men of Niue, the winds always go round the compass that way.

It is obvious from the following that to make a mistake in the words of an incantation destroyed its efficacy, as is well known it did with the Maoris. Fata-a-iki says (*loc. cit.*) in his "Account of the rocks that fell at Avatele":—

"These rocks were placed there in order to obstruct the landing of Tongan invasions. The one called Mutalau is lowest, and this is the *lau* or chorus sung in former times when they were placed:—

Tagaloa, tilitili,  
Tagaloa teletele  
Takina hala Mata-fonua  
Takina hala Mui-fonua  
Tutu malie Tagaloa ô—ô,  
Tagaloa ê—ê.

O Tagaloa! with smoothness, with ease,  
O Tagaloa! with speed, and ease,  
Bring by the way of the North end  
Bring by the way of the South end  
Preside with effect, O Tagaloa!  
O Tagaloa!

"The rock left behind on the inland side is named Makefu, and was left there because the *lau* used was wrong (*hehê*). This is the *lau* that was wrong and caused the difficulty:—

Tagaloa tilitili  
Tagaloa teletele  
Takina hala Mui-fonua.

"Thus the rock stuck and could not be raised. It is thus with things done wrongly at the present day!"

There are several of these large rocks in the little bay (Oneonepata) and landing place at Avatele, but it requires the aid of a strong imagination to conceive how they would obstruct the landing of the Tongans. This belongs to that class of legend relating to the movements of mountains and rocks by, or without, human agency that are found everywhere amongst the Polynesian race, but it is at the same time historically true, that one of the first, if not the first, of the Toga invasions took place at Avatele, as will be referred to later on.

#### MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.

The difficulty I have already alluded to, in acquiring the Niue dialect, prevented my obtaining a good deal of information on the above subjects. Most of what follows was kindly furnished me by

the Rev. F. E. Lawes, but part by the chiefs of Alofi and other places, and is necessarily very imperfect.

*Birth*:—Niuē women seem to bring forth their offspring with the same ease as the rest of their sisters of the same race. Formerly it was not uncommon for women to be at work within a day or two of the event. They appear to have had much the same kind of feeling in reference to the umbilical chord (*pito*) as the Maoris; its burial at certain places made a sort of connection between the individual and the land, entitling him to some rights. Young children were fed on cocoanut and arrowroot (*pia*) after a time. A few days after birth the child was submitted to a procedure called *mata-pulega* which was in fact a semblance of circumcision, though this rite was not actually practised in Niuē. The child was laid on the ground under a screen made of *hiapo*, or bark cloth, and then one of the old men (? a relative) went through the motion of circumcising the child, though the flesh was not cut. Following this was a rite which may appropriately be termed baptism, though it was not so remarkably similar to Christian baptism as that which obtained with the Morioris, but was very like that of the Maoris. The following is the description as written for me by Pule-kula of Liku.

22\* “Living man was born from a tree—the tree which is named Ti-mata-alea (a species of *Dracœna*) which grows in the open, not the Matalea of the original forests, which is a *taue*. Thus: when a married woman is pregnant she longs for the Ti, with its root or stalk; then the husband and the parents prepare an *umu-ti*, or native oven of hot stones for cooking the roots, in order to cause the child to grow. After the woman has eaten of this, the child becomes hard (*maō*) from the effects of the Ti. This is the ancient custom of Niuē from the time the island was made.† The oven is two nights in baking and then it is uncovered (*fuke*); the oven being in the ground.‡

“It is done thus, because the Ti is the parent of man, and the child should feed on the fullness of its parent, the Ti-mata-alea; after it is born then it feeds on its mother’s milk.

23 “If a male child is born it is said to be “*e fua mai he malo tau*,”\*\* or “fruit of the war-girdle.” If a female child it is said to

\* The numbers of paragraphs refer to those in the native dialect to be found in Part IV. hereof.

† See origin of island, Part IV.

‡ The *umu-ti*, or oven in which the root of the *ti* is cooked is connected with the fire-walking practises of the Polynesians, for which, see this journal, vol. X., p. 53, etc. Fire-walking was however unknown to the Niuē people.

\*\* The Morioris also call a male child *maro*, i.e. “*tamiriki-marō*.” See this journal vol. V. p. 198.

be "*e fua mai he la-lava*," the latter word being applied to female occupations.

<sup>24</sup> "When the first child is born, it is shortly afterwards bathed in fresh water, whilst one of the principal chiefs (*patu-lahi*) rubs the body of the child, carrying it in his hands and saying to it the following words:—

'Kia teletele totonu;  
Teletele fa tagi  
Teletele fa tiko  
Teletele fa mimi  
Teletele fa vale  
Kua tele mui e tama i fonua,  
Ka e tele mua a mea i Palūki  
Fiti-kaga ai o tupua.

Teletele ki tufuga,  
Teletele fa iloilo  
Teletele fa taitai  
Teletele fa mafiti  
Teletele fa uka-hoge  
Kua tele mui e tama i fonua,  
Ka e tele mua a mea i Palūki  
Fiti-kaga ai o tupua.

Be facile in kindness,  
Facile in crying,  
Facile in the operations of nature,  
Facile in anger.

The child hereafter will be expert in the land,  
But so and so will be more expert at Palūki,  
*Fiti-kaga ai o tupua.*

Be facile to render works,  
Be facile in knowledge,  
Be facile in fishing,  
Be facile in activity,  
Be facile in *uka-hoge*.

The child hereafter will be expert in the land,  
But so and so will be more expert at Palūki,  
*Fiti-kaga ai o tupua.*

<sup>25</sup> "Shortly afterwards they commence to place food in its mouth, such as Heahea bird, Kamakama (a species of crab) sugar-cane, the bird Taketake, and other quick and active birds, and that kind of sugar-cane that does not die quickly in the forest, in order to strengthen the child to be offered (*fakapoa*—dedicated). Then the prayer offering—for a male child:—

'Kia tu ai a Tagaloa,  
Ke monuina, ke mafiti  
Ke mata-ala, ke loto matala,  
Ke maama e loto he tau fāhi oti,  
Ke manava-lahi, ke ahua-maka, ke toa,  
To iloilo ke tufuga he tau mena oti ni,  
To molu e loto, to loto holo-i-lalo, mo e tutu tonu  
To fakamokoi.'

‘Be thou present O Tagaloa !  
 (And) bless (this child), make him active,  
 (Make him) watchful; of a clear mind;  
 That he may have understanding at all times  
 That he be stout-hearted and brave,  
 That he shall be accomplished in all things,  
 That he may be kind, humble, and faithful  
 And that he be generous.’

That in rain he may be able to run; in gales to run away; by night or by day.—That he may not be swept away by the waves: that he be swift to escape when chased by his enemies; and live long on the surface of this earth.

26 “For a girl, the prayers are to the effect: That she may be accomplished in making *tegitēgi* (one kind of fine mat, used for complimentary presents); also in beating *hiapo*; to braid *kafa-lauulu* (human hair girdle), to make *kāfa-hega* (girdles of parroquets’ feathers); to weave baskets and all work that springs from the *la-lava* (woman’s occupations)—to strain arrowroot, grate the wild yams; to be accomplished in preparing food, and to preside over all similar work.”

Such is the description of the customs with regard to the very young by my friend Pule-kula; and it will be noticed how very like it is to that embodied in the *tohi* rites of the Maori—except that no prayer is ever uttered on behalf of a Maori child to make him humble—such is quite contrary to Maori ideas of what is correct in a man, and I think it possible my friend may have allowed his Christian teaching to bias him here. The idea of the origin of man from a tree is, I would suggest, a dimly remembered acquaintance with the very ancient form of arboreal cult found in many lands: as expressed in the Hebrew Aleim, and amongst the Polynesians in ancient times by the cult of Tāne, who, according to Maori mythology, is the god of trees, besides expressing the male element of the human species.

Infanticide was far from uncommon. In old times the women used to accompany the men to war, and they could not take young children with them nor leave them behind at their villages, so in such cases the husband would kill their offspring. This was generally done by casting them into the sea. Near Mutalau, is the N.E. point of the island, called Tuo, against which the seas break. This was the place for that district where these poor little things were taken by their unnatural fathers and cast over the cliff into the sea. On this subject Fata-a-iki (*loc. cit.*) says: “The island is indeed blessed at the present time, since the Word of God came to Niuē, for there are many new kinds of food, and peace (*mafola*) prevails. But in the olden days ‘*faka folau moui ni e tau tama ka hoge*,’ in time of famine the children were sent adrift (to sea)—the people ate *ka tule* (harmless centipede) and *hiapo* (paper mulberry)



leaves, and *potoga* and *patuluku* (plants) of the forest. During such a famine (*hoge*) great was the internal pain; they tied tightly their stomachs and slept, not rising during the day to help in keeping peace; they remained immovable and careless, nor did they do their best for the good of the island."

Children were carried on the hip (*hapini*), as is the general Polynesian custom.

### MARRIAGE, ETC.

Like all Polynesians the women married at an early age. I cannot say if any ceremony took place beyond the feast (*taonaga*). The brothers had a large share in determining on a husband for the sister. A young man desiring to obtain a certain girl for a wife used to proceed to the home of the girl's parents accompanied by his father and mother, but more often by his brothers and friends or relatives (*magafaoa*) to arrange the marriage,—such a visit is termed *utu vagahau*. If the offer was not accepted, the proposer was said to be *tulia*, or rejected; and this was generally the action of the lady's brothers. At other times the brothers arranged a marriage for their sister very often against the girl's will.

It often occurred in former times that families who were not sufficiently powerful to protect themselves in times of war, sought the protection of the more powerful Patus, rendering them services in exchange, and some such cases are in existence still. The chiefs' daughters often married these dependants, for the reason that they had more freedom, and could order their husbands about. No husband taken from one of the dependant families would dare to take action against his wife in the case of her *laches*, as she was of superior rank. *Faivao*, or adultery appears to have been not uncommon. *Fakamau* is the name given to marriage, it means 'to fasten.' Large families were quite common formerly, but not so much so now; no doubt the abolition of Polygamy accounts for this in a measure.

*Death:* *Mate* is to die, as in all other dialects; *Mate-popo*, death to rotteness equally means death, and distinguishes it from *mate*, also used for sickness, though Niuē people have a special word for the latter, *i.e.* *gagao*. *Mate-teia* is sudden death, as is also *mate-moge*. As far as I can gather the people did not fear death any more than other branches of the race. Possibly this may have had something to do with a belief in the soul (*agāga*) going to Ahohololoa, or the Heaven of the good. There was a *tagi*, or lamenting held as soon as breath had ceased, and the body was often kept so long that all unpleasantness had ceased, to allow of distant friends to wail over it. It was placed in some open spot on a mat. Soon after death a mat was spread on the ground near the body, and the first thing the

lighted on it—insect, lizard, etc.—was believed to be the spirit of the departed. This was wrapped up and taken away and buried. The Samoans have a similar custom, but no other branch of the race that I can remember. For ten days, in former times, the family and friends of deceased built coco-nut sheds, *fale-tulu*, and there dwelt in a state of mourning, termed *api-lavā*. After some time the body was wrapped in mats and taken away to a cave or chasm, where the family bones were deposited, which place was very sacred. In some cases the bodies were thrown into the sea. The bones of the dead are termed *hui-atua*, an expression which is also found in Tongareva Island, but no where else I think. Sometimes the bodies were placed in canoes and sent adrift; evidently with the idea that they would somehow reach the ancestral Father-land. This is a Moriori custom also, but I never heard of it being in force with any other branch of the race, though it seems probable it was practised by some branches of the Fijians, (with whom Polynesians have been so closely connected) for Dumont D'Urville mentions that when off the south coast of Fiji, he found a canoe far out at sea with a dead body in it, dressed up etc. with the owners weapons by it—evidently sent adrift purposely. This is termed *fakafolau* in Niuē, and they often also adopted this means of getting rid of a thief.

It often occurred that the immediate relatives of the deceased were beaten by those from a distance. This is a well-known Maori custom, the idea being that such relations had no business to allow the deceased to die—a good warrior might be lost to the tribe through their carelessness. The people had, and still have, much dread of the spirits of deceased persons, and believed they returned and caused all kinds of trouble to the relatives. In modern times large stones are placed in the graves (*tukuaya*) to prevent the escape of the spirit or ghost. It is still the custom to place some of the favourite property of the deceased termed *tuki-ofa* or *mai-ofa* (cf., Maori *maioha*), on the graves, the belief being that the spirit of these things is used by the deceased in his spirit life. The modern graves of the people are built up very solidly of coral, and are generally to be found in the strip of sloping land between the main road and the tops of the cliffs,\* but graves are found everywhere along the roads and paths,—if at all recent, with the remains of the personal property of the deceased. In the case of women, even their sewing machines are thus placed on the graves.

Like Maoris, the Niuē people often change their names at the death of a relative, indeed, judging from such cases that came under my notice during my short stay on the island, it would seem that the custom is very common. In the case of death, the name adopted

\* Some of these graves will be seen in foreground of Plate No. 1.

generally has some reference to the event, to the cause of death, and the circumstances attending it—all of which is pure Maori. Those who had come into contact with the dead appear not to have been *tapu* (unclean) to the same extent as prevailed in New Zealand.

In very old age, it was not infrequent that the old people requested their younger relatives to strangle them to cause death. Suicide was not uncommon, and was generally performed by jumping off a cliff into the sea (? *faka-folau*).

#### OTHER CUSTOMS.

Cannibalism was quite unknown in Niuē, and the people always expressed the greatest horror of it. At the same time it is quite clear they were acquainted with the custom, as we shall learn (in Part IV.) later on in the story of Lau-foli. Nor did they tattoo themselves at all—so far as I can learn—which seems very strange, but here again they resembled the Morioris. In modern times many of the people are tattooed, but these are usually those who have visited other islands. I noticed on the back of the necks of one or two old men a zigzag line tattooed, which is characteristic of Rarotonga. Niuē people call tattooing *ta-tatau*.\* The Niuē salutation was the same as in other parts of Polynesia, by pressing noses, which they call *figita*, a word which appears to be local; they have the ordinary word *hogi*, but only use it for “smelling.”

Speech-making is a great feature of Niuē life, no occasion seems to be omitted for the exercise of this faculty. And it is clear that references are often made to their ancient history therein. Sometimes their speeches are accompanied by songs of ancient times, just as the Maoris use quotations from old songs to illustrate and emphasise their arguments. These old songs (*lologo*) are sung in the same monotonous minor key as those of the Maori; one person will lead off (*uhu*) and the others join in. Now-a-days the people are great singers, and have many airs that are used in their songs and hymns, and they take naturally first, second, third, and fourth parts. Their singing is often very nice, but too harsh. Their dances—so-called—named *ta-mē*, that I saw, are not unlike those of Rarotonga. At Tuapa when I first met the people, each of the five or six nearest villages furnished a contingent of dancers, both men and women. They were all nicely dressed and wore many flowers and wreaths, the bright yellow leaves of the *kapihi* fern being prominent. As each contingent came up

\* I notice some writers have lately adopted the word *tatu* for tattoo, probably thinking they were using an original Polynesian word. But that is a mistake; there is no such word as *tatu* in the language. It is merely the English word *tattoo*, spelt according to Polynesian fashion. *Tattoo* is derived (by Sir Joseph Banks, I believe) from the Tahitian word *tatau*, to tattoo, and is his method of spelling the Tahitian word. Wherever the word *tatu* is used by Polynesians now-a-days it has been adopted from the English *tattoo*.

They sat down cross-legged (*fakatoga*) in two rows facing one another, to the number of 20 or 30, and then one of them would start (*uhu*) a song improvised for the occasion, then all join in, with swaying of the bodies and arms, whilst one or two men, as fiddle-men, occasionally danced round the others, encouraging them and joining in. When the company had finished another took its place and so on. One who is apt at composing songs for these occasions is called a *koukou-mē*. The songs sung at these dances are composed for the occasion and have reference to passing events. The following is a specimen, sung by the students and their families at Alofi, on my departure for New Zealand:—

E Misi Mete,  
Ne nofo i Taranaki  
Fakatagi tiogo mai,  
Kilikili koki ki Niu Silani  
Kua hake fakatangi ki Niuē  
Fakatagi tiogo mai,  
Kilikili koki ki Niuē  
Kua hifo fakatagi ki Niu Silani  
Fakatagi tiogo mai.

Fire was made originally by the rubbing of a pointed stick in the groove of another, exactly as all other Polynesians do it, the operation was called *tolo-afi*.

#### WAR, ARMS, &c.

According to their own account, wars were frequent in Niuē in old times, either as one village against another, or as a combination of several, such as north against the south, which in reality meant the Motu people opposed to the Tafiti people, the two divisions already referred to. But it was not so originally; it seems obvious from the following part of a legend, the whole of which will be found in Part IV, that the first war in the island arose through one of the Tafiti killing one of the Motu tribe. In very early times there was a high chief named Tihamau who was of the Motu tribe, and he had a *hagai* or lieutenant named Matua-hifi, residing at Avatele, whose business it was to guard against incursions of strange people on that side. A chief named Mutalau, who was probably of the Tafiti tribe, came to Niuē and killed Matua-hifi, as the latter hindered him from landing on the island. Trouble followed between Tihamau, the high-chief of the island, and Mutalau, but after a time this came to an end. Years after, when the sons of the slain Matua-hifi grew up, they determined to be revenged, so gathered their relatives and, proceeding to the north end of the island, there killed Mutalau; and now, says Pule-kula, “commenced the wars in the island which lasted even down to the time when Christianity was first introduced.” (see paragraph 72 *et. seq.* in Part IV.) As already pointed out, the absence of genealogical tables amongst the Niuē people prevents a date being assigned to this event, but it is clear that it was very long ago.



Judging from several exhibitions of the manner in which the used to fight, I do not think their wars were ever on a large scale or very disastrous in character. They were rather a series of ambuscades and skirmishes, in which probably no very great numbers were killed. Occasionally a tribe or the inhabitants of a village would be driven to seek safety in a *tauē* or fort, but those I have seen were incapable of holding more than a mere handful of people, though there is said to be one on Te-pa Point, near Avatele, access to which is only obtainable through a hole in the rocks, and which can contain a large number of people, as it often has done on occasions when it was besieged (*pa-takau*). The *tauē* I have seen were mere natural strongholds in rocks, to which probably art added a little strength by rolling other rocks to fill up holes in the natural defence. The want of water must have been the great drawback to these forts, as it was with the Maori *pas*.

#### KANAVA-AKAU—GENERAL NAME OF WEAPONS \*

*Tau* is the Niuē word for fighting, and *kau* is an army; *malē-tau* a battle-field. The people fought with cleaving clubs (general name *katoua*), barbed spears (*tao*) and with polished stones (*maka*), which were thrown by hand without the aid of slings. There was a good deal of science displayed in using their heavy clubs, both in guarding and striking, the motions reminding me of the action of the Maori with the *taiaha*, which the Niuē *katoua* is not unlike. There was also displayed in avoiding (*kalo* or *patali*) the spears thrown, which, being barbed with hard *kieto* wood made very nasty wounds. It has been previously noticed that pieces of green *kava* root were fastened on to the barbs (*hoe*) of the spear to cause irritation in the wounds, and from this manner the hard barbed part was fastened on to the haft (*fuata*) would easily break off and leave the barbed part in the wound. Some of the spears have two and three separate prongs to them. The following is a list of the Niuē arms, specimens of all of which may now be seen in the Auckland and Taranaki museums:—

Katoua	Varies from 3 to 6 feet long, the blade 3 to 6 inches broad.
Papa	Is broader than a <i>katoua</i> , but same shape.
Fakahutuanu	Not so broad as the above, but thick.
Ulufuamiti	} † Somewhat like the <i>katoua</i> , but instead of a spike at the broad end it is curved sharply.
Akaufua	
Ulu-puku	A small hand-club. Plate No. 6.
Gutu-mea	Is a narrow club, but the striking end curved. (?) Also called <i>pelu</i> , and <i>uluhehu</i> .

There are ten different kinds of spears, all much the same in shape and all barbed with *kieto* wood (ebony). Several were carried by each warrior (*toa*) in fighting,—such a bundle was called *taga-hulu-fe*.

\* Plate No. 6 shows several of these arms. The numbers in brackets refer to Mr. J. Edge-Partington's "Album of Ethnology of the Pacific," where some of them are shown. Thus: (P. No. 4, p. 63).

† I have a note to the effect that this club is like a long Maori *tokotoko*, but the description above is probably correct—it was given me by Fakalagatoa.

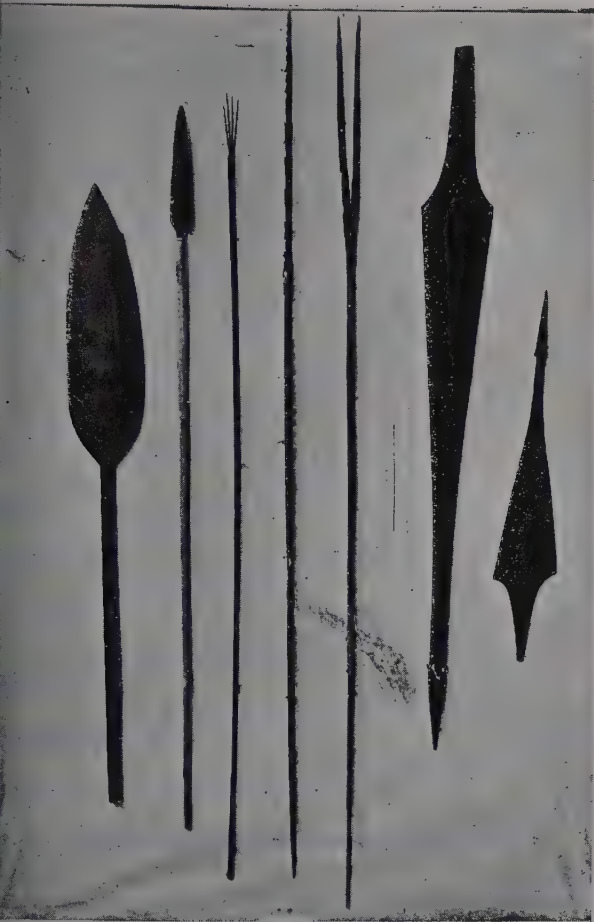


PLATE No. 6.—ARMS, ETC.

On the top line is a paddle (*fohe*) (P. 64, No. 3) below is a *tika*, or dait used in the game *ta-tika*; below that, an arrow (*faui*) with barbed points, used in shooting birds; below is the ordinary *tao* (p. 64, No. 5 and 6) or barbed spear; below that is a *tao-mata-ua* (P. 64, No. 7) or double pronged barbed spear; below that a *katoua*, or cleaving club; and at the bottom a short *katoua* or *ulu-puku*.

The scale is shown in inches.

Figures in brackets refer to J. Edge Partington's "Album."



Tao-hoe-hoe, barbed.	Tao-matatolu, 3-pronged.	Tao-mata-ua, 2-pronged.
Tao-tala-tolu,	Tao-uvake,	Tao-haufua,
Tao-maga,	Tao-kete,	Ulu-miti, short, thick spear
Kau-valovalu, a long, thick spear without barbs.		3 to 4 feet long.

The *tao-kete* is not a fighting spear, but is used in dances, &c.,—its end is split, and so rattles when shaken. *Uaki* is a spear in one piece, without a separate barb.

Of the fighting stones (*maka*) these are about 4 to 5 inches in the longest diameter, and 3 to 4 inches in the shorter; they are usually made of coral, smooth, pointed, and polished. The names are :—

Maka-uli, black-stone.	Fatu-kalā, not very smooth.
Maka-kiki, blackish grey in color.	Maka-gutu-umu-ti, taken from an oven.
Maka-gēgē, made of <i>tridacna</i> shell.	Maka-poupou-ana, made of stalactite.
	See Plate 7.
Maka-tatili, very smooth and polished.	Makafua, rough stone from forest.
	Maka-pihi,

A supply of these stones was carried in baskets, but the warriors also carried in their war girdles a large supply—as many as 50, it is said—to cast at the enemy. When these were exhausted they took to the rough stones lying about, says my informant, Fakalagatoa. The *maka-uli*, or black stone, I have seen a few of. They are made of rough basaltic lava, and have been brought to the island, for there is no such stone native to it. I believe the *Fatu-kalā* is also a basaltic stone; it is interesting to find the common Polynesian name for basalt—*kalā*—attached to it, *i.e.*, the Eastern Polynesian name, from Hawaii to New Zealand, but not known apparently in Tonga or Samoa, though *‘ala* is a stone worn smooth by the sea in the latter place, but does not fit the Niuē meaning. The first part of the name, *fatu*, is also not Niuē, it means a stone—clearly the name was imported with the stone.

The *katoua* and other clubs of that kind were used to strike with, and they are sufficiently heavy to cleave a man's head open down to the shoulders. Club is a wrong name for this arm, just as much as it is for the Maori *taiaha*, which it is not unlike; halbert is a better name, but it differs even from that. The sharp lower end (the tongue of the *taiaha*) is used to pierce the enemy after he is on the ground. The flat spike at the upper end is not used in fighting—it is apparently intended for ornament. Captain Cook no doubt was right in saying these people presented a very savage and fierce appearance as they advanced on him and his party. It was customary to wear nothing but the *kafa*, or girdle, and *malo*, the body and face blackened (*hamo*), and the beard tucked into the mouth, the face contorted with grimaces, the eyes wildly staring, whilst they jumped about defying (*fakafiu*) the enemy (*fi*). The *toa* or brave who distinguished himself was thought very highly of. *Fata-a-iki* (*loc. cit.*) says: “The braves (*toa*) of Niuē-ekai were named Togia. Whenever anyone showed great bravery they



gave him the name *Togia-kai-ota* (*Togia-eat-food-raw*), but no one else was so-called. If a man was brave he was always named *Togia*." A very prominent warrior, who had been the cause of the death of many of his enemies, was often doomed to death at the earliest opportunity, and his opponents would conspire to this end. Such a warrior was termed *Ika-kupega*, a fish for the net, in which expression we recognise the common Maori term for a dead body killed in war—*ika*. The foremost brave who rushed into the fight was called the *Mata-ulu-toko*, and he had a second as a support. All of this was arranged of course, before the fighting commenced. In the actual fight the braves from either side would challenge one another (*fepalêkoaki*) to combat, and these *toas* did *tau-mamate* (fight to the death).

Before going into actual fight a ceremony called *Tugi-maama-a* was sometimes performed: its object was to curse and paralyse the enemy. I have no particulars beyond the fact that the points of the spears were put into a fire, the object of which is not clear, for the *kiato* points are very hard naturally.

Fighting was sometimes carried to extremes, and endeavours made to utterly destroy (*fakaotioti*) the inhabitants of some village. But it is probable this never really came to pass, for all the people had relatives in the different villages. Nevertheless, many of the defeated party had to fly to the woods and inaccessible rocks, and there live a life of extreme hardship, only stealing out from the lairs at night to look for food.

Others again were enslaved (*fakatupa*). Generally these would be women and children, for slavery as an institution was unknown, in the same manner that it prevailed amongst the Maoris. The name for a slave is *tupa*, a crab, and it is somewhat strange that the Rarotongan term for a slave was *unga*, also meaning a crab.

The Niuê people, although acquainted with the bow (*kau-fana*; *fana*, an arrow), never used it in warfare any more than did any other branch of the Polynesians. It was used for shooting birds and rats. The arrows (one of which will be seen in Plate 6) were about 5 feet long and had four barbed points made of hard wood, whilst the shaft was made of cane (*va*). The bows that I saw were very primitive affairs from 4 to 5 feet long and not at all well made.

The people also used short hand-clubs made of ebony (*kiato*) with a knob at the end. These are 10-12 inches long, and only effective, of course, at very close quarters (see Plate 7).

#### CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS.

The climate does not necessitate much clothing, though at the present day, to judge by the costumes of the people, the temperature would appear cold. To see some of the old Patu dressed up in their discarded coats, made of the thickest cloth, formerly belonging to the

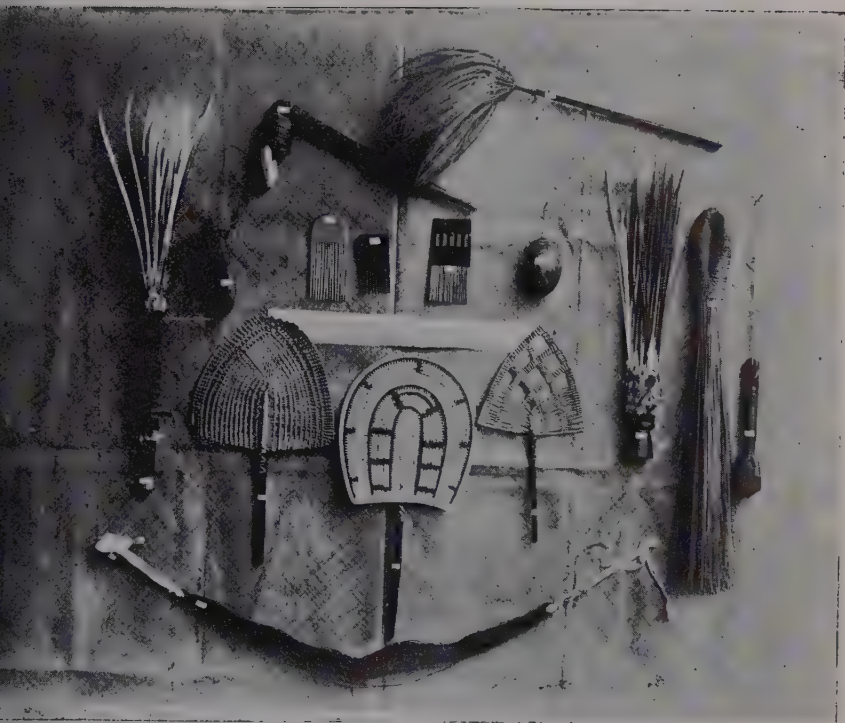


PLATE No. 7.—MANUFACTURED ARTICLES.

Top row: On the left, a *toki-gēgē*, or shell adze; a *fuifui*, or fly flap, made of braided sinnet.

Second row: 1, *Palahega*, or plume; 2, *Toki-uli*, or aze of volcanic stone; 3, 4, 5, Combs (*hetu*, P. 67, No. 1); 6, *Maka-pou-ana*, throwing stone of Stalactite, polished; 7, *Palahega*, or plume; 8, a broom; 9, short club made of ebony.

Third row: Three fans (*fuifui*, P. 67, No. 2); the centre one is a copy from the Samoan fans.

Lower row: A girdle (*kafa*, P. 67, No. 9) of human hair braided.

The Scale is shown in inches.

The figures in brackets refer to J. Edge Partington's "Album."



guards of the London & Brighton Railway, is somewhat amusing on a sweltering day. But then these coats have much brass button and red letters on them. This is the thing that "fetches" the Niue swell, for they are very fond of outward show—anything in the way of uniform seems to appeal to them very much. Everyone dresses in European clothing now-a-days, in which the people do not look comfortable. An exception, however, must be made in favour of the women, who all wear the cool "round-about," generally of white, pink, or dark blue, and, it must be added, they look very well in such a costume. Hats (*potiki*) of their own manufacture are worn by everyone; they are made of Pandanus leaf (*lau-fa*) and are very good. A considerable number is exported every year to New Zealand and Australia; indeed, I was told, as many as 30,000 were sent away one year; but the average is between 2,000 and 3,000.

But none of these things are *ha mena tuai*—things of old, but are modern, since the introduction of Christianity. In old times the *malo*, or waist-cloth, was the principal garment of the men, occasionally varied by a garment of *hiapo* or cloth made of hibiscus bark, called a *felevehi*, which (I think) was worn by both men and women. It was something like the kilt, or *titi*, of other branches of the race. Their girdles, called *kafa*, were made of a large number of strands of human hair beautifully braided (*filili*) and gathered together at the ends in loops, which served to fasten them round the waist. These are exactly like the belts of the Ure-wera Maoris, except that the latter are made of dyed flax. On Plate 7 one of these *kafa* is shown, it has 173 braided strands of hair in it, and as the belt is 33 inches long, there is a total length of braid of 475 feet 9 inches, an astonishing witness to the industry of the woman who made it. No wonder these *kafa-lauula* are much valued. These hair belts are, however, not peculiar to Niue; I have one from Tahiti somewhat longer, but with not nearly so many strands in it.

Another article of wear was the *kafa-hega*, or girdle, made of feathers woven or bound on to a fabric. These must have been very handsome, judging from the *palu-hega*, parts of which are made in the same manner. There were three kinds of feather girdles: the *kafa-hega*, made of the green parroquet feathers; the *kafa-hega-tea*, made of white parroquet feathers, which are found under the beak; and the *kafa-palua*, which is said to be the handsomest and most valued of all. The feathers were plaited into fine twine, then twisted into cords the size of a pencil, and fastened together. The women would work at one of these for years.

These girdles were only worn by the chiefs and warriors, and were very highly valued. I have the record of four of these girdles which were in use about 1850 by some of the chiefs, and three of them were 20 fathoms long, the other 18½ fathoms. They were wound round the body.



All this kind of work was done by the women, and it was under the patronage of certain goddesses, ten of whom are mentioned in par. 42 (Part IV.), but most of whom were named Hina, with some qualifying word. To these goddesses prayers (*liogi*) were made by the women when engaged in the work. The labour connected with them must have been enormous. . They represent for Niuē, the magnificent 'ahu-'ula (Maori, *kahu-kura*) of the Hawaiian Islands—cloaks of resplendent golden and scarlet feathers, of which many may be seen in the Pauahi-Bishop Museum at Honolulu—and also the handsome *kahu-kiwi*, *kahu-kura*, and other cloaks of the Maori, made of Kiwi, Parrot, Pigeon, Tui, and other feathers.

The bark-cloth, made from the *Morinda citrifolia*, or *hiapo*, is fine of its kind. The ground work is white, and the pattern stamped on it by the women is made from the root of the *tuitui*, or candle-nut tree. Plate 8 shows a fair specimen of a *kafu*, or covering made of *hiapo*, a name which applies both to the tree and the cloth, ordinarily called *tapa* in most islands. In design and colour, however, Niuē *hiapo* cannot compare to the beautiful *tapa* to be seen in the Pauahi-Bishop Museum at Honolulu, the manufacture of the Hawaiians, who call it *kapa*. The *hiapo* tree or shrub grows in long slender rods some ten feet high, and it is from the bark of this the cloth is made, by the same process that prevails elsewhere amongst the Polynesians. The tree is said to be disappearing in Niuē, as it is a cultivated plant, and the demand for *hiapo* has well-nigh ceased since the introduction of European fabrics. The Niuē term for beating the bark is *tutu*, impressing the pattern is *helehele*, or *fakakupukupu*, whilst *tapulu* is the general name for clothing of any kind. The bark of the *Ovara*, or Banyan, was also made into cloth.

Of the ornaments worn, there are several. A girdle of white cowrie shells (*pule-tea*) was worn below the *kafa-lanula*, or hair-girdle, it was about six to eight inches deep, and rattled as the wearer moved. These shells were also worn on the upper arm, three or four in a row. This is a Melanesian rather than a Polynesian custom. The large *katoua*, or clubs, were also ornamented with the white cowrie, as were the canoes, and in modern times, they are to be seen in the churches combined with coloured sinnet work arranged in ornamental patterns. *Monomono* was a shell ornament worn round the neck, made of a spiral shell cut, the head part used like a brooch, the pointed part cut flat. It rattled in the dance. The *palā-hega* was a sort of plume worn at the back of the head, and kept in position by a band of *hiapo* round the head. Two of these are shown in Plate 7. They are made with a core of dried banana bark, round which is wound strips of *hiapo* having scarlet feathers of the Hega parroquet fastened on to them, and at top and bottom the yellow feathers of the Kulukulu dove are lashed on with hair braid. From the top springs a plume of red and



No. 8.—NIUE. HIAPO, OR BARK-CLOTH COVERING.



No. 9.—NIUE. THE LATE KING FATA-A-IKI IN FULL COSTUME,  
WITH A *katoua* IN HIS HAND.

white Tuaki and Tuaki-kula feathers, making altogether rather a handsome ornament. Dressed up in his full equipment of ornaments, a man was said to be *fakatufole*. Plate No. 9 shows the late King Fata-a-iki in full dress of ancient times.

I have already mentioned that the Niuē people did not add tattooing to their adornments, in which they resemble the Morioris.

#### CANOES AND FISHING.

Like all Polynesians, the Niuē people are expert canoe men. Even to this day they go in their little canoes right round the island on fishing expeditions, on the weather side of which rough seas are experienced. Every dark night fleets of canoes are to be seen along the leeward coast with their bright torches (*hulu*) engaged in catching flying or other kinds of fish,—it is a very pretty sight to see them. A canoe is a *vaka*, as it is in all other parts in some form of that word; but *foulua* is also a canoe, now applied to ships, which are also called *tonga*. The canoes have outriggers, which are fastened by two arms to the canoe itself. The hull is dug out of a log, with a topside lashed on and enclosed for a space both fore and aft. The seams are caulked with a hard gum called *pili*, and are often ornamented with shells and a little very rough carving. The Niuē canoes are more like the *va'a-alo-atu* or Bonito canoes of Samoa than any others I have seen, but they are not so well-finished nor so long. A Niuē canoe is from 12 feet to 25 feet in length, about 18 inches or 2 feet deep, and somewhat less in width. They carry from one to three or four people. The outrigger is called a *hama*; a double canoe is *vaka-hai-ua*, but not now in use. The paddles are termed *fohe*, and are shaped as seen in Plate 6. With these the canoes can be propelled at a considerable pace, and they sometimes sail, the sail being a *la*, the mast a *funā*. The natives manage their craft very adroitly in coming onto the reef in rough weather, for at that time the little chasms (*ava*) in the reef are not available for landing purposes.

The particular gods (*tupua*), which presided over all fishing work, were Fakapoloto, Hakumani, Mele and Lata, and in former times prayers were addressed to them in order that the fishermen might be successful (*olatia*) in fishing. The people possessed seines (*kupega*), but as I never saw one I cannot say what they were like; they are made of the bark of the *fou-mamāla* tree. In Part IV hereof, paragraphs 51 to 56 will be found an account of the manner in which the Niuē people first became acquainted with fishing nets, which were used by the gods. This story is very like that of the Maoris, who learnt from the so-called Fairies how to make nets.

So far as I saw, fishing was generally done at night by aid of a torch carried at the stern of the canoe, at which the fish jumped and were then caught in a hand-net. These fish are usually flying fish, or



*hahave*. But they had other methods as well, for many of the larger kinds are deep water fish, caught by hook-and-line. Fish preserves in the chasms of the reef were common, where the fish were fed (*pupu-ika*) and caught when wanted. And also, they often stupify fish by casting the berries of the *kieto* and *kauhuhu* into the waters.

Fish were counted by twenties; *te kau* (or 2 tens) being the term used, which is identical with the old Maori word for twice ten; it is not used in any other connection.

#### HOUSES, UTENSILS, TOOLS, &c.

The ancient Niuē house was about as indifferent a kind of edifice as is to be found amongst the Polynesians. Made of *niu*, or coco-nut leaves, it quickly decayed, and had to be replaced. Now-a-days the houses are substantially built of lath and plaster. But notwithstanding the inferiority of the Niuē house (*fale*) originally, the people have a complete set of names for every portion of a large house built in semi-European fashion at the present day.

Amongst the most useful articles of manufacture were their *toki* or axes, which were, as a rule, made of coral in default of better material. These are extremely rough and unpolished. The *toki-uli* or black axe, was made of lava, but as no volcanic stone is found on the island, this must have been imported, and probably from Samoa, for it is exactly like the lava of those islands. Axes were also made of the *gēgēe* or *Tridacna* shell, and, being an easier material to work, the finished article is a much more workmanlike tool. Plate 7 shows both a *toki-uli* and a *toki-gēgēe*. The *toki* were lashed on (*fālō*) to bent handles, as is usual. A felling axe was called *fututu*, and a chisel (of stone) was *tofi*.

Drums were used called *nafa* and *logo*; the only one I saw was a log hollowed with a open split nearly its whole length. The common name for a nail is *fao*, which is common everywhere, and probably meant a chisel originally. *Kofe* is the name for the flute, played by the nose as is the usual Polynesian custom. They make very neat hair combs (*hetu-ulu*), some of which will be seen in Plate 7. One of these is curved and made of black *kieto* or ebony, the others of white wood (*oluolu*), bound together very neatly with braided human hair. The people make large numbers of shell necklaces (*kafua*) of the little yellow and dark landshells, which are very pretty. *Pa* is a shell fish hook, just like the Maori *paua* shell hook.

The Niuē folks made many kinds of baskets (*kato*), of which several are really beautifully made and ornamental—these are made of *lau-fa* or Pandanus leaf, whilst others are made of coco-nut leaf. Mats for sleeping on (*pola*, &c.) were common. *Faga* is a round basket-like trap for catching small fish, and *kakikaki* and *kahikahi* are names for fishing rods. I have already mentioned their fishing net or *kupega*, made of the bark of the Fua-mamāla tree.

### AMUSEMENTS, &c.

Of their ancient games, probably *ta-tika* was the most noteworthy. It was known and indulged in by, I think, all branches of the race. It consisted in throwing a dart, about 5 feet long, with a light haft and heavy head, in such a manner that it struck the ground and then bounded upwards. He who threw furthest was the winner. In Plate 6 will be seen one of these *tika*, and in Part IV, paragraphs 45 to 50, will be found an account of *Matila-foafoa* and the game *ta-tika*, which is another version of that given by Dr. Wyatt Gill, at pp. 107 and 118 "Myths and Songs." Surf-riding was another amusement, called *Fakatu-lapa* or *Fakatu-peau*, which again is common to the race everywhere, but seems to have been practised more in Hawaii than elsewhere. The tug-of-war was another game just like ours, and here is an ancient song sung to it:—

Lilolilo to ua ke fakatoka  
He tafua i Paluki.  
Toho e Motu, toho e Taiti  
Po ko fe ka toho ki ai.

Twist thy muscles to retain,  
The meeting place at Paluki,  
Pulls the Motu; pulls the Taiti,  
Where will they pull it to?

In this is a reference to the constant struggles between the Motu and Taiti peoples. *Heu-manu* was an amusement of chiefs, in catching pigeons by means of a decoy and hand net. This is a Samoan custom, and has the same name *Seu-manu*. Their songs (*tamā*), and dances (*koli*), have already been referred to. Stilts are common amongst the children now, called *tu-te-keka*, and probably is an ancient amusement, for it is known to have been a practice of the ancestors of the Maori before they migrated to New Zealand.

*Takalo* is the general name for play, as it is in New Zealand; *fefeu* is another name for the same thing.

### ASTRONOMY.

I could not learn from the present generation if they had the same knowledge of the stars, &c., as most other branches of the race. The sun is *lā*, the moon *mahina*, the stars *fetu*. Venus, as a morning star, is *Fetu-aho*, and in the evening *Tu-afiafi*.\* *Mataliki* is a constellation, but whether applied to the Pleiades as everywhere else I could not ascertain. The following is a saying about the moon and death:—

Mate a mahina, mate ala mai : mate a kumā, mate fakaoti.

To die like the moon, is to die and rise again: to die like the rat, is endless death.

### FOODS, &c.

Many of the articles of food have already been mentioned, but the following are some of the made-dishes of the people:—*Fai-kai* is a

\* *Whetu-ao* and *Tu-ahiahi* are the Maori names.

mixture of grated coco-nut and yam baked. It is very good. The *Feke*, or Octopus, is pounded, mixed with coco-nut and baked. *Nan* is boiled scraped coco-nut, with lump of arrowroot (*pia*) dropped into it. *Tukifuti* is composed of arrowroot and pounded bananas, and is very good, it is baked. *Holo-talo* is a pudding of grated *talo*. *Pitake* is composed of green bananas and coco-nut. *Takihi* is baked coco-nut and yams. *Vai-halo* is scraped coco-nut and arrowroot boiled.

In former times they made enormous *talo* puddings. The following story in connection therewith will probably be set down as a traveller's tale, but it is true nevertheless. When the new church was opened at Liku, a great feast took place, and one of the articles of food provided by the people was a *talo* pudding 220 yards long! It was baked in a long native *umu*, or oven, of that length, the stones marking the extremities of which are still to be seen.

#### DISEASES, &c.

This is a subject I know little about, but will mention some of the names the people apply. *Fakafoha* is a boil; *huifua* and *fefe* is elephantiasis, which, however, cannot be common, for I saw but one case; *kai-mule* is the fever of elephantiasis; *kaifao* is asthma; *fotofoto* is massage, called generally in other islands *lomilomi*; *heahea* is the thrush; *tata* is to bleed, a proceeding the people are very fond of now-a-days. *Tutalu* is an epidemic, and it is somewhat strange that an attack of influenza affects nearly everybody after the visit of each vessel. In the case of sneezing in a child, the parent says, "*Tupu Tupu-ola*; *Tupu-ola-moui*," which is somewhat like the Maori expression, "*Tihe-mauri ora*," said under like circumstances.

Leprosy is unknown in the island, though supposed to have been introduced there once.

Disease of any kind the people seem to have always been terribly afraid of. Their opposition to Captain Cook landing was due to the fear of the introduction of some fell disease. It was the same with John Williams in 1830 and again in the case of the first native and Samoan teachers. Clearly the people must at some period of their history have been afflicted with some terrible scourge after the visit of strangers, and this has engendered a fear of all intercourse with outsiders ever since.

(To be continued.)



## NOTES ON THE ART OF WAR,

AS CONDUCTED BY THE MAORI OF NEW ZEALAND,  
WITH ACCOUNTS OF VARIOUS CUSTOMS, RITES, SUPER-  
STITIONS, &c., PERTAINING TO WAR, AS PRACTISED  
AND BELIEVED IN BY THE ANCIENT MAORI.

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BY ELSDON BEST OF TUHOE-LAND.

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### FAMOUS WARRIORS.

#### PART IV.

IT is obvious that, among a warlike people like the Maori, those warriors noted for courage, ability, &c. in battle, would acquire distinction in their tribe and even be well known by fame among distant peoples. Such famous fighting generals were not necessarily of high birth. The famous Ropata of Ngati-Porou was but a sub-chief, yet he achieved great fame by his skill in fighting. It was he who caused the turbulent Urewera and the savage Ngati-Huri, ever bitterly hostile to the *pakeha* (Europeans), to hide in caves and remote gullies of their rugged country.

Names of such famous generals as Te Wharaoa, Hongi, Te Rau-paraha, &c., are most prominent in native history, and numberless anecdotes are related of their skill, courage and ferocity. Still many of the famous fighting chiefs of modern times owed much of their fame to the terror which the newly acquired gun inspired.

Te Purewa was a famous fighting chief of Tuhoe, many tales are told of his desperate ventures. So feared was he by those who fell under his displeasure, that he was almost regarded as a demi-god. He is often spoken of as an *atua whakahaehae*—a terrifying demon.

Te Ika-poto was another famed fighter of Tuhoeland. He was possessed of an enormous head of hair which stood out from his head all round in a truly terrifying manner. I am informed that, when



he entered a village, the children thereof fled in dismay. This kind of hair is a sign of Melanesian blood, which is very noticeable among the natives of Maunga-pohatu, being doubtless derived from the migration of Whiro-nui or some previous one.

The prestige of a famous warrior (*toa*) was great, and were his own warlike powers backed by a famous and powerful *atua mo te riri* or war-god, then he and his warriors were practically irresistible, at least according to themselves; and the universe lay in the hollow of his hand. It was thus that Uhia and his god Te Rehu-o-Tainui harried far lands, until the power of that famous war-god waned.

A noted warrior is often alluded to as a *toka tu moana*—a rock standing in the sea.

Many mythical stories concerning famous braves are extant, as for instance items illustrating their wonderful prowess in battle. When Whare-pakau was captured at Te Whaiti by an invading force he is said to have defeated them single-handed.

When near his death a chief would make his last speech to the tribe, warning them against sloth, carelessness, &c. and urging them to avenge all wrongs.

#### TAHARUA.

A somewhat important item in Maori warfare is the relationship existing between members of different tribes, the result of exogamous marriages. A person related to both sides in war was often spared although living with the enemy and probably caught in arms against the tribe that spared him. A *taharua*, or person related to two tribes would often pass to and fro between the opposing camps, when those tribes were at war. When Tuhoe defeated Ngati-Ruapani and drove them away from Waikare-moana, the *taharua* remained undisturbed there and thus kept the tribal fire burning upon the land. These *taharua* also frequently gave warning to tribes they were related to that they were about to be attacked, as Tikitu of Ngati-Awa who sent a messenger to warn Tuhoe that Ngati-Awa were marching to attack them. Sometimes a *taharua* would leave his tribe that he was living with and join the attacking party, when composed of his relatives of another tribe.

After the battle of Wai-kotero, fought out by the Urewera-Ngapuh League against the Wairoa natives, one Ra-ka-tau of the enemy being a *taharua* to the Urewera, visited the camp of that people and remained with them for a time and presented them with some valuable weapons. He was advised by the Urewera not to return to the Puke-karoro *pa* as they intended to besiege and take the place which they afterwards did.

Another expression heard in the recital of the old wars is *Kopu-rua*—i.e., literally, double-stomach, the stomach being the seat of affections with the Maori. A *tangata kopu-rua* is a man whose mind is divided between the fighting and pity for the vanquished.

When Mohaka, the famous seer of the Wairoa tribe, lifted the war-trail against Tuhoe, there were two *pāpā* (tokens) of the *matakite*, or prophecy, a lone tree and a light haired man (see ante). This man was to be caught and degraded, but was on no account to be slain. However when he was caught, one of his captors did not wish to see him degraded for life and showed his sympathy for the unfortunate man by killing him, that he might die as a man, his honour and dignity untarnished. Thus he saved his enemy from degradation and proved himself a *tangata kopu-rua*. Nor would the relatives and friends of the slain man look upon the slayer as a *tama-a-hara*, inasmuch as he had saved their chief from losing caste for all time.

I have heard it stated that a Maori war party has been known to supply a besieged enemy with food, that the latter might be enabled to continue fighting. If true, this would point to a singularly strong love for fighting. But I have no authentic illustration to offer.

#### MODES OF FIGHTING.

The Maori employed various modes of fighting in the days of the *Rakau-maori* (native weapons). He was an adept in the arts of scouting and ambuscading. He possessed wondrous patience in besieging or being besieged, often on a very scanty diet. He was capable of fighting desperately to the death against a superior force, but was liable to panics from causes that would not affect a more enlightened people. Evil omens, such as have been described, would subtract two thirds of his fighting power. His courage was ever liable to be affected by the evils of *Tu-mata-rehurehu* and kindred afflictions. Numbers appeared to have no terror for the Maori. A *hokowhitu* (ten sevens, twice told—140) of tried warriors was a favourite number for a war party and, if the signs were propitious, they would confidently attack an enemy of vastly superior numbers, or await their attack with a calmness passing belief. Did not the far famed eighty of Taranaki hold Te Namu at O-punake against five hundred warriors of Waikato, who had to beat a retreat to their own country.

In olden times the warriors, having probably wound themselves up by means of a terrific war dance, accompanied by a stirring war song, would rush at the enemy and fight at close quarters, as the nature of their weapons demanded. But when guns were obtained the old methods fell into disuse, as not being fitted for forces armed with fire-arms.

The style of fighting most dreaded was that adopted by a *taua-a-toto*\* or war party bent on blood vengeance, such a party being more determined and desperate than an ordinary force.

The tide of battle has been turned by the fall of a chief at a critical moment, for his warriors, anxious to prevent his body falling into the hands of the enemy (and subsequently into their stomachs) would rally and make a rush to rescue him dead or alive. Thus the tide of battle was often turned. When the friendly Wairoa natives and a few Europeans fought the Urewera and other rebel tribes at Te Kopani in 1865, Ihaka Whanga, a friendly chief, advanced before his men who had had enough of the ambush, and fired at the enemy until he fell, wounded in two places. His men at once rushed forward to recover his body, and later, in conjunction with the fighting Ngati-Porou, drove the rebels from the position, after killing sixty-five of them.

Another item that has often turned defeat into victory is the following: A chief on seeing his men giving way, and a disaster imminent, would cry out "Let me die on my land." At once his men would rally round him and fight with desperation. The chief would probably thrust his spear in the ground as he made the above remark, and the spear would serve as a kind of nucleus or rallying point of the fight. Such an incident occurred when the famed warrior Te Waharoa attacked the Arawa at O-hine-mutu. The latter were decoyed out of their *pa* by Ngati-Haua who pretended to fly in terror pursued by the Arawa, who were surprised to see two ambushes of several hundreds of men rise against them. The Arawa at once fled back to their *pa*, losing many on the way, and rushed through the entrance of the fort and were beginning in terror to abandon the same, when the chief Koro-kai shouted "Let me die here, upon my own land." His men, many of whom were already in their canoes prepared for flight, at once rallied and beat off the enemy. But Ngati-Haua carried off sixty dead Arawa, and held a royal feast thereon†

A favourite method of fighting among the Maori was the sending forward of a small party of about seventy men, who marched on the *pa* or village of the enemy and, having started the fight, gradually retreated to some pre-arranged place where the main body (*matua*) of the warriors would be ready for the fray. There were two reasons for acting thus. It might be done in order to lure an enemy out of his *pa* (fort) so as to enable the attacking force to fight him in the open, or it might be that the *matakite* (prophecy) had specified some particular place where the battle must be fought in order to gain

\*Same as the *taua hiku toto*.

†From "Story of Te Waharoa," by J. A. Wilson.

victory. The field of *Puke-kai-kāhu* is an instance thereof. Four hundred fighting men of Tuhoe marched against the Arawa. They were under Uhia, priest and medium of the illustrious war god, Te Rehu-o-Tainui. Uhia camped his men at Puke-kai-kāhu, where he stuck his sacred staff in the ground, and declared that the battle should be fought there. Seventy men were sent on to Te Ariki to attack the enemy and lure them to the appointed field. This was done, and the battle raged round the staff of Uhia, whereon was hung his sacred girdle. As the commands of the *atua* had been obeyed, of course Tuhoe won the field.

When a war-party is traversing dangerous country, and expecting an ambush, or to be attacked at any moment, the scouts and also the vanguard adopt the *kaikape* mode of advance. Say several men are some distance ahead of the main body, as the eyes of the force, on the look out for ambushes, when they have been for some time engaged in this dangerous and trying task, they fall back on the main body, and others take their place. It is a good plan. The intense watchfulness necessary, and the sense of danger, are a great strain on the mind, and the falling back for a while relieves the tension. Tuhoe adopted the *kaikape* style when advancing on the Tapiri, as they knew that the enemy were aware of their advance and would probably ambush them. Harehare of Ngati-Manawa, whom Tuhoe had, on the advance, taken prisoner at Ahi-kereru, had escaped and fled to his friends at Te Tapiri.

*Riri pakipaki* means to surround in fighting. The rebel natives employed this method on several occasions when fighting the Imperial soldiers and colonists.

A strange and daring method of fighting and harassing an enemy was the following—Sometimes, a man noted for courage and self-reliance would advance into the enemy's country alone, or possibly accompanied by one or two comrades. They would hang about a settlement and cut off stragglers, and cases are on record where one or two men have charged through a village, killing whom they could and escaping into the forest.

Ruru of Tuhoe was a famous brave (*toa*) of the last generation. It fell upon a certain fine day that Ruru said "I will go a fishing." So off he set with his fish net and torch to Wai-o-hau. When night fell he lighted his torch and proceeded to wade up a creek in search of the guileless *kokopu*. As he was wading up stream he saw a fire ahead of him. Ruru at once extinguished his torch and cautiously approached the fire; wherein we may note the caution of the Maori in his fighting days (every unknown person was an enemy or treated as such). Ruru found the fire surrounded by a party of Ngati-Awa, who were sleeping. Ruru dashed in among the party with raised weapon



shouting the old battle cry. "*Hoatu ki roto-E! Hoatu ki roto*" This was to cause Ngati-Awa to believe themselves attacked by a war party. He succeeded in killing two men, Hoi, and Te Huri-aroa while Ngati-Awa fled in terror. Thus did Ruru gain his *ika hui* (see ante) and achieve fame. It is sad to think that when the on-sweeping *pakeha* had put a stop to inter-tribal fighting, Ruru of the stalwart arm fell from grace and turned to cultivate the black arts of the wizard, and cultivated them with dire effect, until the simple minded Children of the Mist put a bullet through his head, which seemed to discourage him.

When a party is being pursued and are hard pressed, they generally separate and scatter in all directions, to meet again at a pre-arranged place. This method of confusing pursuers is known among the Tuhoe tribe as *whaka-raurēkau*. It was much used by Te Kooti when pursued by the colonial forces.

The *takiri* is a false retreat, made use of in order to draw the enemy out of their defences and into an ambush, as already described—generally known among Tuhoe as *taki*. When the Wairoa natives attacked Te Whakatohea, they employed this stratagem, the principal warriors remaining in the rear of the retreating column until, at signal, they turned on their pursuers and defeated them.

When Tuamutu of Te Tini-o-Toi cast about for a scheme whereby he might destroy Rongo-popoia and his people, he hit upon the following novel plan. He caused a great fish-net to be made of strong material and sent for Rongo-popoia and his people to come and assist in the first dragging thereof. When the net was cast, Tuamutu stationed Rongo and his people to act as *karihi* (weights) to keep the lower rope down, Tua's people having charge of the upper rope. At a given signal from Tua, these latter drew the net over Rongo and his men who, before they could extricate themselves, were put to death by their enemies. So much for the fine old Maori gentleman.

When Rangi-te-ao-rere, of illustrious fame, undertook the task of conquering the isle of Mokoia, in Roto-rua lake, he was informed by his father that the venture was one of great hazard, inasmuch as when the canoes approached the shores of that classic isle, the islesmen waded out into the shoal waters of the lake and, seizing the canoes, dragged them ashore and slew the invaders. So Rangi prepared his warriors and gave them instructions how to act. He borrowed a large canoe from his father and placed therein two stout poles and two ropes. They paddled over to Mokoia in the darkness of night, and when in shoal water near the shore, they drove one pole down into the mud and fastened one end of a rope to it, and the other end to the bow

of the canoe. They then swung the canoe off shore and sunk the other pole further out, fastening the stern of the canoe to it with the other rope. The islesmen, the Tini-o-Kawa-Arero, waded out and seized the bow rope and tried to drag the canoe ashore. But Rangi and his warriors were in the water holding firmly to the stern rope and pole. He gave a signal and his men released their rope from the pole and swerved round towards the shore, dragging the canoe with them. This threw the islesmen into confusion, and before they recovered therefrom the canoe was beached, and, as my informant put it, "Then was heard the sound of weapons as they bit into the heads of the enemy, and ere long nothing remained beneath the shining sun save the drifting waters of the lake!"

In the old days, fights often appear to have taken place in houses. Sometimes the people of a village were surprised in their houses at night, or on wet, cold days. Sometimes the fighters retreated into a house for purposes of their own. As this article deals almost solely with the lore of the Tuhoe tribe, it may be explained that Tuhoe ever lived in small scattered communities, in which most of the people of a village would sleep in one large *whare-puni*, or earth covered sleeping house.

When the Wairoa warriors, under Paetihi, marched on Maungapohatu, they selected a wet day on which to deliver an assault on the Papakai *pa* at Te Kakari. They surrounded the fort and, there being no watchmen or defenders about, entered therein and surrounded the large *whare-puni* wherein the people were. The invaders proceeded to make matters uncomfortable for Ngati-Huri by thrusting their long spears through the thatched roof and the smoke-hole, thus killing many of the occupants. The pluckiest of them broke out and fled. Te Ika-poto fled, wailing as he ran for his dead. His companion said, "Why do you lament now, while we are being pursued, leave your lamentations until we are safe. *Tē waiho kia puta te ihu.*"

After Tihori of Rangi-taiki deserted his wife Kopura-kai-whiti and her two children, Paumapuku and Maiopa, the latter settled at Mokai-tokorau. When her sons grew to manhood, Kopura built a house for them and they, having been trained to arms, were despatched to capture and slay a man as a sacrifice to lift the *tapu* from the new house. They journeyed towards Tarawera, but were seen and pursued by the Tini-o-Kawerau, an ancient tribe of those parts. Maiopa was speared and slain, but Pau escaped, though still pursued. When he reached the bank of the river he shouted, *Ko te whakaariki, E! E! Ko te whakaariki.* "The war party! The war party!" He then swam the river, and all the people went inside a large house. The pursuers crossed the river and attacked the house, trying to pull it down, when the warriors therein burst suddenly forth and succeeded in defeating the enemy, slaying many.

When Rongo-karae and his people were attacked at Kiwi-nui *pa* by Maruiwi, the chief collected his most famous warriors within a large house and caused them to loosen the front wall of the house by digging the earth away from the posts, &c. The balance of the defenders were driven back from the walls, and called upon Rongo to come forth and fight, but he answered, "Wait until the hands of the enemy grasp the thatch of Toka-nui"—this being the name of the house. The enemy crowded into the porch of the house, endeavouring to gain an entrance, when Rongo caused his men to push on the loosened wall until it fell on the people without. In the confusion Rongo and his warriors rushed out and attacked Maruiwi, whom they defeated.

#### AMBUSCADES AND THEIR USES.

Ambuscades are variously termed *puniho*, *whakamoe kokoti*, *whakanoho kokoti* and *kokoti-moe-roa*, in Tuhoeland. Among other tribes the terms *pehipehi*, *haupapa*, *whakatakoto* and *kauae-roa* obtain.

The *kokoti-moe-roa* or *puniho* is used in attack. The attacking force lay several ambushes a short distance away from each other. A small party, termed a *hunuhunu*, is sent forward to challenge the enemy and commence a fight. When the attacked come forth from their *pa* to attack the *hunuhunu*, the latter retreat and *taki* or decoy their enemies past the ambushes. The first ambush reached make no sign, the pursuers pass on until they reach the furthest ambuscade which rises and gives battle, the others appear and attack the enemy in the rear. The *hunuhunu* march openly on the enemy and do not conceal themselves, as scouts would. "*Kua haere te hunuhunu, kanooho te kokoti.*"\* Ambuscades in such a case are usually laid at night and the *hunuhunu* are sent out early in the morning. The *whakanoho kokoti* is similar to the above, but only one ambush is laid. The *hunuhunu* is sometimes termed *poa*—*E poapoa ana te taua*, i.e., they are sending out a bait to entice the enemy.

*Manukawhaki* means to entice by stratagem, an art much cultivated in Maori warfare.

It was by means of an ambush that Ngati-Kahungunu destroyed the war party of Ngati-Huri, as already mentioned.

When Nga-Potiki attacked the O-putara *pa* at Whiri-naki the first time, the assault delivered did not succeed, and they resolved to employ stratagem of a novel kind. They retired to the flat below the *pa* and performed a most vigorous *haka*. After some time Hapemarama, the chief of the fort, came forth from the defences to watch the performance. To obtain a better view he and others came down the

\*i.e. "The decoy goes forth and the ambush is laid."

hill. They were cut off and slain by Tuhoe, who soon took the fort after the chiefs fell. Hape has ever since been known as Hape-ware, Hape the Careless. The body of the chief, Aro-a-kapa, was rolled over the cliff, a place since known as Te Takatakanga, where, two centuries later, the descendants of Hape faced the warriors of Ngati-Maru.

When Ngati-Awa advanced on Te Kauna they sent forward a *hunuhunu*, who succeeded in capturing one Whati at Paetawa, but Tuhoe preferred not to be drawn into the ambushes of the Sons of Awa, and so awaited them at Te Kauna, near Pawairoto.

To unmask an ambush is known as *hurahura kokoti*. When Colonel Whitmore's force was marching over the forest ranges from Ahi-kereru to Rua-tahuna, the Arawa Contingent fired volleys into every place they thought might possibly conceal an ambush. That was a *hurahura kokoti*. The force had already encountered one ambush at Manawa-hiwi and were not desirous of falling into another. As they passed over the Tahuaroa range, Tuhoe were in ambush on the Umu-roa trail, but the column marched to Kākā-nui, and hence escaped it.

When Tuhoe attacked the Pohatu-nui *pa* of Ngati-Kahungunu they executed a *takiri*, falling back in apparent confusion, with the object of luring the garrison out of the *pa* to pursue them, which they did. Tuhoe slipped aside one by one, and let the enemy advance unmolested. Ruru of Tuhoe killed one of the enemy, and taking the dead man's *huata* (spear) he impersonated him for some time.

#### SCOUTING, ETC.

Scouting was an important item in Maori warfare, and no better men may be found for that dangerous duty. Born and raised in a land of dense forests, swamps and fern-clad plains and hills, the natives are accustomed from their childhood to roaming these waste places of the earth, and finding their way across country in any direction. Skilled in forest lore are they, and keen to note the trend of range and spur and creek. Masters in woodcraft are they.

Scouts are termed *toro* or *tutei* or *tutai*. The *matataua* means more and will be explained anon.

When an army or war party were marching through hostile country, the scouts would be about half a mile in advance of the *mātua* or main body. When a scout sights an enemy he may, if another scout be hard by, signal to the same by means of a low whistle, but usually, and more especially in a dangerous country, he would fall back on the *mātua* who would, after a short consultation, advance on the enemy or lie in ambush and send out a *hunuhunu* party.

When camped in hostile territory, a party would have sentries posted at certain advantageous places around the camp, such places



being known as *putaanga*. These watchmen would be stationed often on the edge of the forest, to command a view of approaches.

When the army of Nga-Puhi encamped on the Manawa-ru range at Rua-tahuna, Te Mai-taranui, who was at Maunga-pohatu, sent Te Whetu and Paora Kakauri to invite them to Maunga-pohatu, also sending men to bear presents of food, etc., to Nga-Puhi. These presents of food, sent to meet a coming visitor or guest, are termed a *pongaihu* or *tumahana*.

Scouts had sometimes to perform the most dangerous duties, more especially when seeking to discover the nature of the defences of a fort (*pa*), and the number of fighting men it contained.

When the Arawa were marching on Te Tumu in 1836, they sent forward a scout who, under the cover of night, boldly walked into the *pa* as a returning occupant would do, and, having had a look around, left as calmly as he had entered.\*

The individual known as a *mata-taua* was a most useful adjunct to a war party. The term *mata-taua* was not necessarily applicable to a good scout. It implied a man who was watchful at all times, day or night, a keen, observant man; one who can tell, by looking at a man, whether or not he is a brave warrior. If a man eats heartily before a battle the *mata-taua* class him as a brave man, his heart will not 'shrink' in the fray. A *mata-taua* will tell, from the appearance of a returning war party, whether or not they have been successful. He is likewise clever at reading signs and omens. The *mata-taua* are literally the 'eyes of an army.' The following extract from the archives of Tuhoe land will admirably illustrate our meaning:—

A bitter war was raging between Tuhoe on the one side, and Ngati-Ruapani and Ngati-Kahungunu on the other, during which they raided each other's territories, though most of the fighting took place around Waikare-moana, Tuhoe holding the northern shores thereof and their enemies the southern.

A large force of Tuhoe was marching on the lake to attack the Wairoa people. As they ascended the Huiarau range they met two men of Ngati-Ruapani who were going to Rua-tahuna to fetch six of their tribesmen (probably *taharua*) who were then living at that place. A famous *mata-taua* looked at the two men and, turning to Te Ika-poto, a chief of Tuhoe, said—*Kua mate a Waikare*—"Waikare has fallen," meaning that the people of Tuhoe living there were slain. Te Ika-poto asked—*He aha te tohu?*—"What is the sign"? The *mata-taua* replied—*Inahoki te hahana o te kanohi o te tangata nei*—"Observe the flushed faces of the men." He had noted the flush or glow (*hahana*) in their faces which comes from

\*This incident is taken from Mr. Wilson's "Story of Te Waiaroa,"

excitement, etc., and as they had mentioned nothing of an exciting nature, he knew that they wished to conceal some occurrence which must, obviously, be inimical to the welfare of Tuhoe.

The *tauā* proceeded and, at Te Pakura, met the survivors of the Tikitiki massacre, in which the blood of the women and children of Tuhoe reddened that historic cave and the surrounding waters. The fleeing remnant said: "We have fallen in death. Nothing remains but the drifting waters of Waikare-moana."

Then Tuhoe rose in anger and grief and swung down the rugged trail to the sea of the rippling waters, and the end was not well for the Sons of Ruapani.

### WEAPONS.

Weapons occupied a prominent place in the arts, thoughts and history of the old time Maori. Being a remarkably warlike people, prompted by strong desire for revenge for the least slight, and mentally cramped by numberless superstitions, it may safely be said that in Maoriland, no man might predict what the day might bring forth. A cunning and merciless enemy concealed in forest, scrub or fern—a sudden rush on the toilers in the fields or on an unsuspecting *pa*, and then—a defeated party fleeing for their lives, or the ovens filled with the bodies of the slain villagers, a band of slaves being hurried along rough trails—a desolate land.

Hence his weapon was the Maori's constant care in the old fighting days, and was always taken with him in travelling between tribal villages, and also generally in hunting expeditions and when engaged in working in the cultivations of sweet potatoes, *taro* and *hue*.

The generic term for weapons is *rakau*. *Hapai rakau* means 'to bear arms.' A man who is skilful in using his weapon, proficient in *taro* (parrying) and whose blows are sure and deadly, is termed a *tangata rakau kawa*.

Maori weapons may be divided into three classes:—

1. Thrusting weapons—as spears.
2. Striking weapons—as clubs, &c.
3. Projectile weapons—as *tarerarera* and *reti*.

Regarding the materials of which weapons were made we have also three classes:—(1) wood, (2) stone, (3) bone).

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, iron began to be obtained from the early European voyagers. Iron was utilised as spear heads, and formed into *patu*. Gridirons were eagerly sought after, the bars thereof being formed into barbed points for bird spears. Iron tomahawks were used with either a short or long handle. But the European weapon most sought after was the gun, as we shall see anon.

We will now proceed to give a list of the weapons as noted :—

#### THRUSTING OR STABBING WEAPONS.

*Puraka; Huata; Turuhi; Tokotoko; Tete.*

Such are the names of thrusting spears as collected from the Tuhoe tribe, but the following names of spears occur among other tribes, and are taken from William's Maori Dictionary :—

*Tao; Taoroa*, (probably the same as the *huata*); *Kaukau*  
*Kokiri; Mātia*, a spear resembling a *tokotoko*.

The terms *tao* and *taoroa* are not applied to fighting spears in Tuhoe land, but only to the long, fragile bird spears which are made from the light but brash wood of the *tawa* tree. The *taoroa* of other tribes would be the *huata* of Tuhoe. Yet another spear is the *Koikoi*

#### STRIKING WEAPONS.

*Mere* or *Meremere*, *Kotiate*, *Patu pora*, *Mata kautete*, *Mira tuatini* (generic term *pātu*); *Toki*, (of various kinds); *Taiaha*, (also used as a thrusting weapon); *Paiaka*; *Hoeroa*, (also used as a thrusting weapon); *Pouwhenua*, (also used as a thrusting weapon); *Huakanu*.

Of the above the *hoeroa* might also be included among projectile weapons in as much as it is not only used for striking, but is also thrown at an adversary, being recovered by means of a cord.

#### PROJECTILE WEAPONS.

*Tarerarera; Reti; Hoeroa.*

Williams gives *timata* as being a dart or short spear for throwing. Ngati-Awa give *timata*, a thrusting spear eight or nine feet in length. He also gives *pere*, an arrow or dart thrown by means of a thong attached to a stick, this is the Tuhoean *tarerarera*.

John White gives an illustration (A.H.M. Vol. 3. P. 66) of a weapon termed *kotaha kurutai*, which looks like a spear head with cord attached for throwing. I have not been able to obtain any information concerning this weapon. *Kotaha* among Tuhoe means a sling, used by children for throwing stones.

Two other names of weapons given by Williams are *Tōrōwai* and *Tuniere*.

We will now give some description of these various weapons, their manufacture, and the materials of which they were made.

It may be here remarked that ancient Maori-land was no place for idlers. Labour was the salvation of man, and a considerable portion of the time of these neolithic communists was devoted to the endless task of fashioning weapons, implements and ornaments from wood, stone and bone. The labour involved in the manufacture of stone weapons was enormous. Most finely finished and polished *toki* (adze) and *patu* (weapons) were formed from rough blocks of the hardest stone

by the most primitive appliances, viz., a grinding process by means of hand rubbing with a piece of sandstone, the work being expedited by the use of sand grit and water. The only mechanical appliance evolved by these workers of stone appears to be the *tuiri*, an implement used for boring holes in stone weapons, &c. A well finished *mere* represented years of labour.

We commence with the thrusting or stabbing spears:—

*Puraka*.—This weapon resembled an enlarged *matarau* or eel spear. The shaft was made of *manuka* wood, and was about eight feet in length. At the business end of this shaft were securely fastened three or four points or tines (*mata*) fashioned from *mapara*, the hard resinous wood of the *kahikatea* (*podocarpus dactyloides*), the white pine of the settlers. The *puraka* thus resembled a large fork, and was used for stabbing purposes. It was also used to take the bodies of drowned persons from the water.

In regard to the timbers used for the manufacture of weapons: The desired qualities being strength, hardness and durability, the woods used were those of the *ākē* (*dodonea viscosa*), the *māirē*, both black and white (*santalum Cunninghamii*, &c.), the dark heart wood of the former being very dense and hard, the *mānūkā* or *kāhikātōa* (*leptospermum scoparium*) and the *māpārā* above mentioned. Of these the *ake* was specially famed, and sought after, it being both hard and tough. I have noted the word *ake* as being used as a generic term for weapons in songs and proverbial sayings. The *maire* was also much used, the roots thereof were more especially prized, weapons made of the same being less liable to fracture than those fashioned from the wood of the trunk of the tree. As a general rule spears were made of *manuka*, and wooden striking weapons of *ake* and *maire*. This rule, however, would be liable to be affected by local conditions.

So durable a timber is the *maire* that the following saying applied to it, "*He maire tu wao ma te tokī e tua*" would seem to imply that only by the axe can that tree be brought low.

The *manuka* has ever been a most useful tree to the Maori, on account of its habitat being a far-reaching one. The large growing variety of *manuka* developes, in a suitable locality, into a fine, straight true-grained tree, from which were obtained *huata*, spears of great length. But hardest of all these timbers is the *māpārā*, a term applied, not to a tree, but to the hard resinous interior wood of that species of *kahikatea*, known to bushmen as yellow pine. The *mapara* takes, and carries, the finest point of any of the above woods, and it is not necessary to harden the points of such weapons by fire, as is the case with the *manuka*. Spear shafts were not formed of this wood, but it was used as spear heads or points, the same being securely lashed on



to a shaft of *manuka* or some other wood, as in the case of the *tete* and *puhaka* spears, and also the eel spear. The black *maire* is the dread of the bushfeller, but the *koiki mapara* is as a nightmare to him.

*Huata*.—This is the longest fighting spear of Maoridom. It was from eighteen to twenty-five feet in length, and was much used in the defence and attack of the old Maori forts (*pa*). In such a defence the *huata* was used by one man who inserted his spear between the palisades of the defence, using the horizontal rail (*huahua*) of the palisading as a rest (*pae*) for same. But in fighting outside two men were needed to manipulate the somewhat cumbrous *huata*, one towards the forward end of the spear, who acted as a *pae*, or rest, by loosely holding the spear, the other man at the butt end doing the thrusting. When fighting in the open, the users of the *huata* would remain behind the front ranks, who were armed with shorter weapons, the long *huata* being thrust forward between the men in front, as a man using a *huata* could not well defend himself.

In attacking a village, these spears were used to slay persons within their houses, by thrusting the spears through the roof of thatch or bark. So fell many of Ngati-Huri at the fall of the Papakai *pa*.

The long *huata* were also used when attacking a fort, to fire the houses inside the defences, and to render the place untenable. A bunch of dry fern or grass would be fastened to the end of the spear and set fire to, the spear being thrust over or through the palisades, and the fiery point brought in contact with the dry thatch of the houses. In this manner the Oputara *pa* at Whirinaki fell to Tuhoe.

*Huata* were made of *manuka* timber, not a sapling, but split out of a large, straight-grained tree, and dressed down by means of stone adzes (*toki*) with an infinite amount of labour and care, until the round symmetrical shaft needed but to be polished by means of being rubbed with sandstone (*tunaekē*), the point of the spear being hardened by fire. When not in use these and other spears were kept hung up in the houses, probably suspended from the roof, where they soon became intensely black from the soot of the fires below. The *huata* and *tokotoko* spears were not barbed. In travelling, the long *huata* were held in one hand and trailed behind, dragged as the long bird spears were.

These *huata* had a round knob on the butt end, this knob being termed *reke* or *pureke* and to which was fastened a bunch of the long hair of the tail of the native dog (*he mea putoi a muri ki te waero*). *Reke* is also applied to the butt end of a knob of a *patu*, where the wrist thong is fastened. The terms *reke*, *rekereke*, *koreke*, and *pureke* are all allied, and mean the butt, heel, after part, back or poll of axe &c. The actual term to describe such a knob as that of the *reke* of *huata*, is *purori*.

There are many terms used to denote the various modes of holding and using a *huata*—as *awhipapa*, to advance in a stooping attitude and dragging the *huata* behind. Also the terms *amo*, *whitiapu*, *ahei*, *aitongitongi*, *hiki* and *kuku-a-mata* have each their signification.

Of the *turuhi* spear I have no explanatory notes. It was an ancient weapon, but was probably one of the first to fall into disuse. Only a few of the oldest men of Tuhoe-land remember the name.\*

*Tokotoko*.—This is often termed the ‘short *huata*’ by natives. Among many tribes the name is applied to a walking stick or staff, but this latter is termed *turupou* among the Tuhoe tribes. I use the word staff because the Maori did not formerly use a short walking stick, grasped at the top, but a comparatively long staff which was grasped with the flat hand about two feet from the top thereof.

The *tokotoko* was pointed at one end, the point being hardened by fire. It was made of *manuka* wood and was about two *mārō* in length, (*mārō*=a fathom, measure of extended arms) or say ten to twelve feet. Some would appear to have been shorter, if used as walking staffs, as some of the old men state. They were furnished with a *pureke* as in the case of the long *huata*. The various guards and passes of the *tokotoko* were known as *takiwhenua*, *ahei*, *whitiapu*, *tokotuku* and *hiki*.

*Tete*.—This was a different type of spear. It was a short stabbing spear, about seven feet in length, the shaft being of *manuka* wood, to which was fastened a sharpened head or point of *mapara* or of human or whale bone, hence its name of *tētē* (from *kātētē*=to lengthen by adding a piece). The end of the shaft was grooved to receive the head or point, which was lashed on in a most secure manner. I am also informed that this attached point was barbed to prevent the stricken person escaping, as was sometimes the case when a *huata* or *tokotoko* was used. Given the fact of a man being impaled upon a barbed *tete*, he could be held fast. As with other weapons the *tete* was made smooth by vigorous rubbing with sand-stone or sand. It was often ornamented with a bunch of *awe* or dog’s hair fastened on by the lashing of the head.†

*Koikoi*.—The *koikoi* was a double-pointed, short spear of *manuka* wood, and was seven to eight feet long, pointed at both ends.

When the early voyagers beneath the Taki o Autahi (Southern Cross) began to visit these shores of Aotea-roa, any scrap of iron was eagerly received by the natives, and spear heads were formed from a piece of

\* The only *turuhi* we ever saw was about 6 ft. long, of which about 2 ft. 6 in. formed a broad blade  $2\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide and  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. thick.—Ed.

† The *tete-whai* is also a Maori weapon of the same kind, but in which the barbed point is made of the sting of the sting-ray (*whai*).—Ed.

bar iron or anything suitable, by a slow process of grinding or rubbing on sandstone sprinkled with grit and water.

We will now look at the striking weapons, taking first the short weapons, such as were used with one hand, and which may be classed under the three headings of (1) *Mere*, (2) *Patu* and (3) *Toki*.

The term *mere* or *meremere* is, in Tuhoe-land, applied to the short one-handed weapons with one striking edge, but is in some other districts applied to the short, two-edged weapons, known in Tuhoe-land as *patu*. These short weapons, *mere* or *patu*, are about twelve inches in length, sometimes longer. They are used in hand to hand fighting and even if a warrior fought with spear or *taiaha*, *hoeroa* or *pouwhenua* he usually used *patu* or *mere* to despatch an enemy, after such enemy had fallen or become impaled.

These *mere* of one striking edge were flat or slightly convex weapon and with a fairly keen edge. The back of the weapon was curved or hollowed or carved in some design. They were made of dense, heavy wood, as *ake* or *maire*, or of the bone of the sperm whale (*pārāoa*), indeed the word *paraoa* was often used to denote a weapon made of such bones. I believe that '*paraoa-roa* a weapon made of whale's rib,' as given in Williams' Dictionary, is but another name for the *hoeroa* or *tatu paraoa*, to be hereinafter described. I have never seen one of the short, one-edged weapons, as above described, made of stone. Of this one-edged class was the *kotiate*.

The *mata-kautete* is a short, saw-like weapon made by fastening sharks' teeth to a wooden haft. *Mira-tuatini* appears to be another name for the above, but with two jagged edges. Tuhoe did not have these.

We now come to the short, oval bladed, double edged, flattened weapons which we have known as *patu*. We will put the average length at thirteen inches. They were made of hard volcanic stone, of greenstone and other kinds of stone, as also of bones of the sperm whale (such were termed *patu-paraoa*), and even in late times of iron (these last known as *patu-pora*).

The native names of the kinds of stone used for the manufacture of *patu* and *toki*, were—*kārā*, a basaltic rock; *uri*, a stone somewhat resembling the *kārā*; *onewa*, a dark grey stone; *tuapaka*, a white or gray stone; *kurutai*, a dark (*pango*) stone; *makahua* (*he mea whero*\*). The *kārā* appears to be the stone known to Ngati-Hau tribe of Whanganui as *kororariki*. I have heard it stated that *onewa* another name for *komā*, a light-coloured stone of which implements &c., were made, but Williams gives them as two distinct kinds. Another *komā* and *onewa* are both terms applied to *toki* or *patu* made of light coloured stone.

\*i.e. Brown or reddish.

Tuhoe-land appears to have been singularly deficient in stone suitable for implements. These tribes obtained their stone from Waitato and the East Coast. The rocks of this district appear to be invariably a kind of slate, much shattered. A famous place for obtaining the dark stone termed *uri* was on the headwaters of the Waipaoa river in the Poverty Bay district. To obtain a piece of stone wherefrom to fashion an implement, parallel grooves would be ground across the surface of the rock by means of a piece of sandstone, used with sand and water. When sufficiently deep, the intervening piece would be split off. This was the first step in the long process. The next was to chip the stone into rough form by means of striking it with a piece of *kiripaka* (quartz). When chipped into something like the desired size and shape, then began the long process of grinding. It took fully as long to make one of these stone *patu* as it does to build a modern battle ship.

The chipping implements used to roughly fashion an implement were simply pieces of hard quartz or similar stone (*kiripaka*) lashed securely to a handle. The piece of stone so used would be chipped to a rough point before being lashed to a handle. Both large and small hammers of this kind were used, the former for cleaving the block of stone to be operated upon, the latter for chipping into the required form. The fastening of the lashing was ingenious and secure (*he mea tau ki te hitau*).

In various parts of New Zealand have been seen rocks, the surface of which are covered with grooves where the men of old were wont to perform the tedious grinding or rubbing process by which stone implements were smoothened and made symmetrical. It is indeed marvellous to note how well formed, symmetrical and true in outline are these stone implements of the Maori.

The *kiripaka* used by the natives of Tuhoe-land as chippers, points for *tui*, &c. appears to be a kind of barren quartz found in the creek beds.

The *patu-pora* was so named because the iron wherefrom they were fashioned was obtained from the vessels (*pora*) of the early European voyagers in these waters, or from the word *pora* or *tangata pora* being used to denote those foreigners. The work involved in grinding down a piece of iron to form a *patu* must have been truly appalling.

I have never heard of a double-edged *patu* being made of wood.

The *patu paraoa*, or *patu* made from the bones of the sperm whale, were much prized, and were strong, handy weapons, not liable to fracture. These were, of course, usually made by coast-dwelling tribes. Tuhoe, being an inland tribe, were cut off from places where whale bones were procurable, as at Te Mahia, hence the few weapons formed of this material that they possessed were mostly taken on the battle-field.



But dearer unto the heart of the neolithic Maori than all other weapons was the *patu-pounamu*. The *pounamu*, or greenstone, was obtainable only on the west coast of the South Island, so far as New Zealand is concerned. It was therefore obtained by the tribes of the north only by means of barter, or by being secured as booty during a raid on a hostile tribe. Both ornaments and weapons of greenstone, as well as rough, unworked blocks of the stone, were given and received as presents on certain occasions, and were also handed over sometime as payment for some injury inflicted or wrong committed. Again weapons were often captured from the enemy on the battle-field, or were handed over to cement a peace. The famous greenstone *patu* known as Hau-kapua was thus handed over to the Government of New Zealand by the Tuhoe tribe at the conclusion of the late war.

Albeit the greenstone is of an intense hardness, yet the indomitable patience and application of the Maori led him to fashion therefrom the most beautifully formed and polished weapons and ornaments. In fact, the greenstone represented the precious stones of Maoridom, and a fine ornament of that material was as a pearl above price.

Some years ago I examined a slab of greenstone which had been found in one of the sounds adjacent to Picton, and which was a good illustration of the native method of cutting a slab of stone into the requisite dimensions from which to manufacture a desired implement. One edge showed the deep groove ground on either side of the slab, and the intermediate fracture where the piece had been broken, off. The width of the fracture, *i.e.*, the thickness between the two grooves, was about one-third of an inch. Parallel with this edge, and designed to cut off a piece of the stone some four inches in width, was a deep rounded groove, which had evidently been formed by the usual process of rubbing with a piece of hard grit stone, aided by sand and water. On the reverse was a similar but shallower groove, where, presumably, the lapidary had been interrupted in his work—a broken chapter, the *finis* whereof is missing—whatever that closing scene may have been, an incursion of Ngai-Tahu from Hataitai, the advent of Te Rauparaha and his desperate band—*ko wai ka mohio*? \*

But concerning the *tuiri*. All short hand weapons were attached to the wrist by means of a cord of plaited fibre of the *harakeke* (*phormium tenax*). In order to effect this a hole was bored through the rear or butt end of the weapon, by means of the *tuiri*. This is an ingenious contrivance, of which a specimen may be seen in the Auckland museum. We give a crude description thereof:—The upright (*pou*) a piece of wood about two feet in length, and three-quarters of an inch in thickness, to the lower end of which is fastened the boring

\* *i.e.*, *Quien sabe*—who knows.

point (*mâtä*), a piece of *kiripaka*, or some hard stone, chipped to a rough point. The *porotiti*, a discoidal piece of heavy wood (*maire* preferred) is prepared, and a hole made in the centre thereof, through which is passed the *pou*. It is secured to the latter at about one-third of its height, and is for the purpose of increasing the momentum of the *tuiri* by its weight. The *kurupae* is a piece of wood twenty inches in length and two inches wide in the centre, where a hole is made to allow of the *pou* being passed through it, but not to fit tightly. A cord (*aho*) of plaited fibre is fastened by the middle to the top of the *pou*, and the ends made fast to either end of the horizontal *kurupae*. To operate the *tuiri*, the boring-point of the *pou* is set upon the precise part of the stone where a hole is to be bored, the *kurupae* is turned round until the two cords are twined round the upper part of the upright *pou*. The twining of the cords raises the *kurupae* up the *pou*, up which it slides easily. A downward pressure of the hand on the *kurupae* now causes it to slide back down the *pou* and unwinding the cord as it goes, the momentum, increased by the heavy disc, causes the cord to wind round the *pou* in the opposite direction and again raising the *kurupae*, which is then pressed down again by the operator. The hand of the operator is kept on the *kurupae*, but of course only the downward pressure is needed. Sand and water are used to facilitate the work. In light work, such as grooving an ear-drop, &c., only one hand is used to operate the *kurupae*, but in heavy work, such as boring a *patu*, both hands are used to give increased force. The boring point of the machine of course needs frequent renewal, or re-chipping to a point.\*

The cord is passed through the hole in the *patu* and the ends tied together. The hand is put through this loop and the *patu* turned round a few times to cause the cord to twist and close up on the wrist, the hand then grasps the *patu* just forward of the *reke*—and that warrior is ready for business, fighting or speech-making.

Old men, past fighting and hard work, passed much of their time in the manufacture of weapons, &c.

Such short weapons as *patu* or *mere* were usually carried stuck in the back of the belt or girdle (*tatua*). Such weapons as the *taiaha*, *hoeroa*, &c., were carried in the right hand. Light *toki*, such as the *toki pou tangata*, were carried in the girdle, but the large heavy *toki* were often carried on the back, the handle being passed under the shoulder cloak, the head of the *toki* being held by the *ua*, or thick neck band of the cape.

The *patu* was used in a peculiar manner, a kind of back-handed lunge termed *ripi*. A direct blow with the *patu* is termed *tipi*, such a

\* The boring was done on both sides, meeting in the centre.

blow was given when striking at an enemy while he is running, *i.e.* from behind (*I tipia-taurewatia a mea tangata*).

*Toki*.—The stone *toki* of the Maori is usually termed an axe by settlers, but the natives had no axe proper, *i.e.*, considering the relative positions of head and helve. In the Maori implement the head was always helved as our adze, though, of course, the haft was not passed through an eye in the head, but the latter lashed on to the former.

These *toki* were of many sizes. I have a specimen in greenstone two inches in length, and with a face of one-and-a-half inches. The huge *toki ngao pae* was used for heavy work and roughing out. The *toki ngao tu* was a medium sized implement, the *toki ngao matariki*, a small finishing tool. The *toki hohou pu*, also known as *toki pou tangata* and *toki whawhao pu*, is usually a small *toki* made of greenstone, and is lashed to a handle highly ornamented with carving. Such *toki* were carried by influential persons and would be held in the right hand, as a *patu* or *mere* is, while delivering a speech. Large *toki* were also made of greenstone sometimes.

*Toki* were used not only for dressing timber and other domestic works, but also as weapons of war, being generally used to despatch a foe who has fallen to spear or club. Such weapons were, of course, the medium-sized *toki*, not the large nor yet the diminutive ones. The *toki pou tangata* was a favourite weapon.

Many famous *toki* are mentioned in Maori song and legend, and none more famous than Te Awhiorangi. Other famous ones are Te Manokuha and Kura-matapu. In a written account of the Mātātua migration sent to me by a native, I note this passage:—

“ Friend! There were three (famous) *toki* by which the canoe Mātātua was hewn out:—

Thy axe, O child! (is) Hui-te-rangiora.

Thy axe, O child! (is) Te Atua-haemata.

Thy axe, O child! (is) Te Rakuraku-o-Tawhaki.”

*Taiaha*.—This favourite and well known weapon is also known as *hahi* and *maipi*. In length it is about five feet. One end is flat and about two-and-a-half inches wide; this is the striking end and is termed the *rau* or blade. The other end is carved in the form of a face and tongue, and is known as the *arero* (tongue). This latter end is embellished with carving, and in olden times was further ornamented by fixing thereto a bunch of red feathers (*kura*) termed a *tauri*, under which were fastened bunches of the long white hair (*awe*) of the ancient Maori dog. So adorned this weapon was called a *taiaha-kura*. When not in use this end of the *taiaha* was wrapped round with leaves of the *parapara*.

This was a favourite weapon in the old fighting days, and warriors were trained until they became remarkably proficient in its use. The

*taiaha* is frequently referred to in song and story. Old veterans boasted of their skill in using it. "Whakapa dwelt at his home at Rangi-taiki. The word came that Tamaoki had fallen before Nga-Maihi. It found the old man, Whakapa, shaping out a *taiaha*. He heard the story of the defeat, and said: "*Mehemea ko ahau i kona, ko Te Amo-pou ma te arero o taku taiaha, ko Te Hahae ma te rau; penei o raua manawa riro mai ana hei whakau mo taku tamaiti.*" (Had I been there I would have slain Te Amo-pou with the tongue end of my *taiaha*, and Te Hahae with the blade, and have brought their hearts to use in the *whakau* rite over my child.)

Hence Whakapa led his warriors against the Puketapu *pa* and met Te Au-whiowhio in single combat, Whakapa struck at Te Au with his *taiaha*, Te Au warded off the blow with his *hoeroa*, which the next moment was buried in the body of Whakapa. Then—but no, we will not assault that *pa* yet, for the signs are not propitious. The gods who live for ever will bid us don the war girdle in their own good time.

When a man armed with a *taiaha* wished to take advantage of an enemy, he would advance with his weapon at the trail (*tō*), the *rau* (blade) thereof to the rear and lowered close to the earth. When near enough to strike, the *rau* would be quickly raised and the blow delivered.

The following guards and points were observed in the use of the *taiaha*:—

1. *Popotahi*—guard. The weapon held vertically before the body, the tongue end down.
2. *Whakarehu*—the point from the *popotahi* guard. The lower end of the weapon (*i.e.*, the *arero*) raised and thrust at adversary. (Either as a feint, or if the point struck the person so much the better, as it would give operator time to recover arms and possibly deliver a blow.)
3. *Whitiapu*—the stroke (not thrust) from the *popotahi* guard. The blade (*rau*) of weapon used as a club.
4. *Huanui*—a guard. The *taiaha* held horizontally before the body, the *arero* end to left.

The point *whakarehu* and the blow *whitiapu* were also delivered from the *huanui* guard.

*Paiaka* or *tewhatewha*.—A singular weapon, a round handle about five feet in length, at the end of which is a broad, flat head, something like an axe, and with one edge sharpened. On the head bunches of pigeons' feathers (termed *pukipuhī*) were tied as an ornament, the quills (*tuaka*) of feathers being cut away so as not to have the feathers too stiff. This weapon was made from the root of the *maire* tree, the trunk wood not being suitable, as in delivering a vigorous blow on a hard-headed adversary, the head of the weapon would be liable to split off.



*Pouwhenua*.—This weapon resembled a *taiaha* in appearance but lacked the *arero* or tongue. It was about the same length and had a similar *rau* or blade for striking. The other end was sharp and used as a stabbing spear.

*Huakau*.—This name was applied to any rough, unhewn club or staff used as a weapon.

The singular implement termed a *ko*, which was used for planting *kumara*, was sometimes used as a weapon. It was made of *maire* and was brought to a sharp point at the lower end, and hence would make an effective thrusting weapon, and could also be used as a club, *i.e.*, to deliver a blow, though somewhat long for the latter purpose.

#### PROJECTILE WEAPONS.

In projectile weapons the native armoury was decidedly deficient. As Polynesians, the Maori made no use of the bow and arrow in warfare, although some state that it was used as a plaything by children—an extremely doubtful statement. It does not appear in any of the lists of toys, games, &c., of former times, so carefully preserved by the natives. The discovery of an ancient bow, described at 56 Vol. I. Journal of the Polynesian Society, by no means casts discredit on the above statement, inasmuch as it is fairly proved by traditionary evidence that the bow-using Melanesians visited and settled in New Zealand in the long ago. Traces of the admixture of the Melanesian and Polynesian races are most noticeable in various divisions of the Tuhoe tribe.\*

*Tarerarera* or *tuku whakarere*. So far as my notes extend, this is the only weapon used by the Maori that could be thrown to any distance. It was a rough undressed spear, and was thrown by means of a whip. It is sometimes termed *pere* by the old men, and also *kopere*. In describing an assault delivered by the northern tribes under Tuwhare, Te Rau-paraha and others, against a *pa* near Wellington, one of their number said:—"I a matou e noho ra, e mahi ra i te tohi taua, e koperea mai ana e te iwi o te pa ra a ratou kopere ki a matou"—As we were performing the *tohi taua* rite (outside the *pa*), the people of the *pa* kept casting their *kopere* at us.

The *tarerarera* were, as stated, not finished or carefully made spears, but simply a rough throwing spear. *Manuka* was the favourite wood; small, straight saplings of about one and a quarter inches in diameter, and some nine feet in length. These were trimmed of branchlets and the scaly outer bark, the butt end was sharpened to a point, the same being hardened by fire. At about six

\* This statement does not of course imply that there was a Melanesian race here before the Maoris—a theory lately promulgated, but without any authority, in our opinion.—Ed.

inches back from the point, *i.e.*, where the tapering off (*koekoeko*) commenced, a deep ring notch (*tokari*) was made, almost severing the head of the spear. When used with the whip (*kotaha*), the butt of the spear (small end of sapling) was stuck in the ground, the head raised at the desired angle, and facing the direction of the enemy. The operator, holding the wooden whip handle, to the end of which a cord was attached, loosely hitched the free end of the cord round the body of the spear. By a vigorous swing of the whip, the spear was plucked from the earth and impelled swiftly in the direction it had been laid to. The twist of the cord round the spear withstood the forward 'pluck,' but was released by the forward revolving movement of the spear, the operator retaining the whip in his hands. On striking anywhere, the impact caused the head of the spear to break off at the ring notch, thus in striking the human body the head would remain buried in the body, causing a wound from which recovery was extremely doubtful.

I have heard it stated that these casting spears were sometimes pointed with *katote* (*kākā ponga*) the hard, black fibres of the *kaponga*, or "fern tree" of the colonists, which is of a poisonous nature. Also that this spear was sometimes thrown by hand, as in the siege of a *pa* (fort). Some natives state that *tuku whukarere* was applied to such a rough spear thrown by hand, and *tarerarera* to the one thrown by means of a whip.

Should it so happen that the spear broke not at the notch when cast, it would be then taken and utilised by the enemy. During the battle of Puraho-tangihia, one Korokai, of Tuhoe, repeated the *hoa* invocation over one of these spears and cast it at the enemy. But he must have offended the gods, inasmuch as the *hoa* did not act properly on this occasion, the spear missing the mark, and the head thereof remaining intact. It was seized by Tama-i-runa, of Ngati-Kahungunu, who cast it back, slaying Korokai.

Hundreds of these rough spears were kept in the forts of old, in readiness for an attack. Old men spent much of their time in making them.

I am informed by the old natives that when a well organised defence of a *pa* surrounded by the enemy was made, that the flight of these spears resembled a rain-storm. It is said that the *pauku*, or *pukupuku* cloak, already described, was a protection against these spears, that is if the cloak had previously been well soaked in water. The *tarerarera* were sometimes termed *manuka*, from the wood of which they were formed. The term *kopere* was also used to denote the whip among some tribes.

Returning to the bow and arrow: I am told by some of the natives that a bow (*whana*) of *pirita* and arrows of fern stalk or a shoot (*pihi*) of the *kaiwhiria*, with a point of *katote* lashed on, were

used by children to kill birds in olden days. This statement does not come from good authorities and is not reliable. The game laws of old were most strict; to poach on the bird preserves of another (known as *kai haumi*) spelt death swift and certain. No method of taking birds which tended to frighten same would have been allowed. This bow and arrow business is *post-pakeha*, and no doubt the elderly men of the present time used, or saw used, such bows in their childhood, for the forties saw the introduction of many European ideas, games, implements, &c., into these districts.

The statement that bows were used in order to throw blazing arrows of *mapara* or pitch pine into a besieged *pa*, must also be entered as "not proven," in connection with *pre-pakeha* days.

An illustration of a spear whip, there termed *kotaha*, is given on p. 66, White's "Ancient History of the Maori," vol. 3, as also what appears to be a *tete* spear with a pointed head lashed to the shaft.

*Reti*.—This is a weapon concerning which it is impossible to obtain information now. The late chief Te Kowhai informed me that it was a short weapon thrown by hand, something after the style of the weapon depicted in vol. 3, "A. H. M." referred to above. The *reti*, however, was pronged, *i.e.*, double-pointed, and the sides of such prongs or tines notched. It was made of *ake* wood. It was grasped by the hand held at the butt end and thrown at an enemy. A cord was fastened to the butt end and the cord held in the left hand, thus enabling the operator to recover his weapon. The missile weapons of the Maori do not appear to have been by any means brilliant achievements.

*Hoeroa* or *tatu paraoa*.—This peculiar weapon was made from the rib of the sperm whale (*paraoa*) and was about five feet in length, flat and about two inches wide. It was not straight but curved, as may be seen in page of illustrations above quoted. One end was sharpened but not brought to a point, *i.e.*, the full width of the weapon was carried right through to the end, which, however, was tapered in regard to thickness and brought to a fine edge. The *hoeroa* seems to have been used as a missile weapon and as a stabbing spear, also possibly as a striking weapon. A cord (*taura*) was secured to a hole in the butt end of the *hoeroa*, the other end of the cord being fastened to the girdle of the warrior. This enabled him to recover his weapon when cast. As a stabbing or thrusting weapon it would inflict a dreadful wound. It appears to have been thrown with an underhand cast, and is said to have been a most difficult weapon to parry (*karo*).

Hamiora Pio, an octogenarian of the wandering children of Awa states:—"He *tatu paraoa*, he *pere tera rakau a mua*. He *mea here taura ki muri*. *Mehemea ka tukua kia rere, kei te mau atu ano te taura te ringa o te tangata nana i tuku whakarere, tu tonu atu, ka tika te rere*

*kore e taea te karo.*" (A *tatu paraoa*, a missile weapon of old. A cord was tied to the after end. When thrown, the man who threw it held the end of the cord in his hand, the weapon striking the enemy. Properly cast, it could not be parried.)\*

The *timata* is described in Williams' Dictionary as a throwing spear, but I have obtained no notes thereon, it is probably the *tarerarera*.†

The weapon termed *wahaika* or *wahangohi* appears to be the same as the *tewhatewha* or *paiaka*.

The words *whakarehu*, *whakahopo* and *whakapoi* mean to feint with a weapon.

In war the general rule was that each warrior was armed with one long weapon—as *taiaha*, *paiaka* or spear—and one short weapon—as a *patu* or *toki*. The former were carried in the right hand, the latter stuck in the girdle. When the *tapu* of the war god was upon the warrior, he would never carry his weapon in his left hand. The reason is this, that the right side of man is the *tama-tane*, the male side, the *tapu* side, the side of life, health and strength; whereas his left side is the *tama-wahine*, the female side, the *noa* or common side, the side of death, of sickness or affliction, of weakness. For ever, in the more ancient Maori myths and beliefs, does the female principle personify degradation, death, and misfortune.

In war, should cooked food be passed over or come in contact with a warrior's weapon, that weapon is polluted and has lost all its virtue or piercing power (*ka tamaoatia te mātā o te rakau*). It will be well for the owner thereof to remain in camp, nor take part in the fray, unless he obtain the services of the priest to avert (*whiti* or *ripa*) the trouble.

In regard to the pads or protections used against spear thrusts and known as *puapua* and *whakapuru-tao*, I have no notes. The *puapua* is represented in the volume of illustrations prepared for Mr. White's "Maori History." The *pukupuku-patea* and *whakangungu-rakau* given by Williams, appear to be variant names for the *pauku* already described.

Warriors fighting with a short weapon, as *patu* or *toki*, relied principally on the nimbleness of their legs (*te rakanga o nga wawae*) in order to avoid blows aimed at them. They were never still during such a combat, but always dodging and jumping about. The left arm was also used in parrying a blow—*ma te ringa puapua e karo*—the left hand, with the *puapua*, was used in the parry. This *puapua* would probably be a garment rolled or tied up into a ball, or wrapped round the arm.

\* In the north, the *hoeroa* was the weapon used, with which to inflict the frightful death by impalement on the female prisoners.—ED.

† It is the same as the *koikoi*.—ED.



The term *ika tere*\* is applied in Tuhoe-land to a war party that has been destroyed by the enemy, it went forth to return no more.

In the good old days of the *mana Maori*, when war raged up and down the land, and the doleful hooting of the war trumpets sounded throughout the ancient realm of Toi, the wood eater, when the mournful watch songs of the sentinels, high perched within thrice stockaded forts, were answered by the thundering chorus of the war dance, then was it that man looked well to his weapons, nor laid them ever aside. And the favourite *patu*, lance, or battle-axe that had seen so many warriors go down to Hades from the heights of Haumu—of a verity was it as the apple of his eye to the savage possessor thereof even as the strings of his heart.

For many famed and noted weapons obtain in Maori history. No weapon that had seen much service was without its name, and on many hinged the stories of famous battles, of noted peace-makings, of slaughters grim and great.

I have in my possession a famous *patu* known as Te Whiu, which may be freely translated as "the chastiser." It was taken by the Tuhoe tribe from Te Kareke at the fall of Te Poroa *pa* at Rua-toki, and was last in the possession of Paora Horomata, of Rua-tahuna.

Te Ate-o-te-whenua was a famous *patu paraoa* which belonged to Tu-tamure of immortal fame, he to whom fell the great Maunga-akahia *pa*, far away beneath the rising sun.†

When the league of Tuhoe, Ngati-Maru and other tribes raided the east coast to obtain revenge for the slaying of Te Maitaranui and to them fell the Kai-uku *pa*, some noted *patu* fell into the hands of the victors, among them being Te Heketua, Te Rama-a-Apakura, Kahawa and Kauae-hurihia.

Valuable weapons were sometimes given wherewith to purchase a person's life in battle, as will be hereinafter described.

The following song of lament or greeting was composed in reference to a famed *toki* known as Te Atua-whakaniwha, which was given to Tapora-hikitaua by Kahukura-kotare, wife of Ue-nuku-koihu:—

"Kahikatea rakau kei te kakau  
E ko kahikatea pounamu,  
Tena ia ka riro i te whakitere kauae  
Na Koihu. E ko  
Nana hoki i muna iho kei muri te tamahana  
Kei roto i te whare te taonga whanaunga nei  
Maringi iho te roimata."

Some of the famed weapons of yore were especially noted as being possessed of supernatural powers, and hence were looked upon with awe by the people. Some were looked upon as dumb oracles, inasmuch

\* *Ika tere*—drifting fish.

† See J.P.S., vol. i. p. 147.

as from their appearance, the issue of a battle might be foretold, as in the case of the *taiaha* of Ngati-Porou, mentioned in Gudgeon's "History of the Maoris" at p. 22.

In the following instance a famous and prized weapon was given to the purchasers of native land in token of, and binding, the transference of the same:—

"At a meeting of natives held at Waikawa, Picton, in 1856, when their lands were sold to the Europeans, Te One (a chief) struck into the ground at the feet of the Commissioner a greenstone axe, saying:— 'Now that we have for ever launched this land into the sea, we hereby make over to you this axe, named Paewhenua, which we have always highly prized from having regained it in battle after it was used by our enemies to kill two of our most celebrated chiefs. Money vanishes and disappears, but this greenstone will endure as a lasting witness of our act, as the land itself, which we have now, under the shining sun of this day, transferred to you for ever.' "

The quickness of hand and eye possessed by the Maori stood him in good stead in the old fighting days before firearms were known. At guard and parry they were most efficient, a man who could *karo* well was sure to win applause at their trials of skill. Here I must really make a quotation from Mr. Wilson's "Story of Te Waharoa," it is such an excellent illustration:—

" . . . the first man of the fight appeared. He was a naked, square-built, powerful, dark-complexioned, forbidding looking fellow, who, eager for the fray, had outstripped his companions—on he came, dripping with the rain, with his left arm *en garde*, wound round with a mat, and his right hand tightly clutching a short tomahawk, he was too intent on entering the hut to perceive the missionary, who stood near and watched his movements. He did not go straight in at the doorway, as a measured blow might have been dealt him, but suddenly he leaped obliquely through it, making at the same time a ward to defend himself."

Now I will tell of Paerau, a renowned chief and warrior of Tuhoe. Full many a fight with Maori and *pakeha* had old Paerau seen, from the bloody field of Te Kauna even to the fall of O-rangi-kawa. Versed was he in the arts of old, physical and sacerdotal, whereby the warrior may achieve fame, render his weapon efficient, and confound his enemies. Skilled in the use of weapons, past master 'in the art of *karo* (*karo*—to parry, avoid a blow). But when the old *Ika-a-Whiro*, in his declining years, journeyed to Napier to view the wondrous fire-canoe of the *pakeha*—it was then that Paerau, of the fighting *Tu-matawhero*, fell. .

They got him aboard the train all right and, as she pulled slowly out of the depot, he seemed to think it a very good sort of canoe. But

when the driver opened her out, and Paerau saw the whole world flashing past him in dread flight, he became alarmed. He put his head out of window and gazed at this new and awe-inspiring sight. *Aue!* A frightful weapon is hurled at him. With the instinct of the trained fighter the old warrior lifted his arm to guard the blow—not in vain had this Son of Tu been trained in the arts of war, the parry was successful—and the telegraph pole flashed past to the rear. With a sigh of relief, but with dread forebodings in his heart, he lowered his guard. *Aue! te mamea roa!* Another fell weapon of god or man is about to sweep him from the earth, but another *karo* is successful, and pole number two sweeps backward to the sea.

She pulled into the next station in safety, but Paerau had had enough. Paerau the fearless, the most renowned fighter of Tuhoe, from the days of Te Ika-poto and the scourge of the Pu-taewa, he who looked the shining sun in the eye and lowered his own for no man from the dark cañons of Parahaki to the shores of the Sea of Toi—he quailed before the awful works of the *pakeha* and their wondrous gods.

(*To be continued.*)



## THE WHENCE OF THE MAORI.

BY LIEUT.-COL. GUDGEON, C.M.G.

### PART II.

#### POLYNESIAN MIGRATIONS TO NEW ZEALAND.

THERE are many works of literary merit and reputation that treat of the Maori and his history so far as the subject was known to the writers. It is, however, unfortunate that these books do not convey to the mind of the general reader how very little the authors knew of the subject on which they wrote, or how very unlikely it was that they ever could know anything about the Maoris, their history, customs, and mode of thought. The Polynesian is as a rule so suspicious and so fearful of ridicule, that he must have great confidence in any man before he will discuss with him his own history, polity, religion, or peculiarities, and even when this difficulty has been surmounted, the seeker after truth must have an extensive knowledge of the Maori language to enable him to appreciate the information he has received.

In support of the foregoing remarks I may quote Dr. Thompson's "Story of New Zealand," the most modern and best known of the works to which I have referred.\* Now Dr. Thompson had special facilities for acquiring a sound knowledge of his subject, and yet he says that there is no truth in the legends as to fights between the immigrants and the so-called aboriginal inhabitants, because there were none. This statement is in itself sufficient to show that however valuable his book may be as a record of the early European history of New Zealand, it is valueless as a history of the Maoris. It is true that we do not know a great deal concerning the early history of this interesting people, but we do know this, that the Moriori migrated from New Zealand to the Chatham Islands probably 150 years before the immigrants mentioned by Dr. Thompson arrived on these shores,

\* London, 1859. It is no doubt a slip on the author's part to call this "the most modern" work on the subject.—Ed.



and that even at that remote period there were already people in possession of those islands. It is clear that these facts were unknown to Dr. Thompson, and that he did not moreover know that there were other immigrants than those of the six canoes; under these circumstances he was not in a position to say that there was no aboriginal population.

The same authority informs us that European inquirers have differed in opinion as to the situation of the place called Hawaiki, for the reason that there are many islands of that name in the Pacific but that he himself has come to the conclusion that Savaii, in the Navigator Group, is the Hawaiki, the place claimed by the Maoris, as the point from which each migration started in search of the new land. It is of course possible that some of the migrations may have started from Savaii, but there is to this day no special evidence available that would justify any person in saying that the Maori did come from Savaii.\*

According to tradition most of the migrations whether to New Zealand or to other islands started from Hawaiki, but we also know that the Maoris did not all come from the same place, nor at one and the same time. And furthermore we know that the numerous Hawaikis of the Pacific, are names bestowed in memory of the ancient home of the Maori people, which I have shown lay very far to the west; it therefore seems probable that when the Maoris say that they came from Hawaiki, they are simply referring to the ancient migration of the Polynesian race. As to the claims of Hawaiki, the most ancient of all the migrations to New Zealand known to us is that of the descendants of Maui Potiki, namely, the Uri-o-Toi, and some of these are said to have come from Mataora and not from Hawaiki.

It is true that the Tihi-o-Manono is referred to in Maori tradition and it may be admitted that this Manono is the island of that name near Savaii; † but the references to that group in the old *waiata* (songs) from which alone the ancient history of the Maori can be gathered, are few and far between. In these songs we hear more of Rarotonga, Manuka, Whiti (Fiji), Rangiatea, and Rarohenga, all of which islands are known and can be identified at the present day, and

\* In the face of the very precise statements contained in the Rarotongan traditions, to the effect that the Rarotongan and Tahitian, and with them the Maori, ancestors did go from Savaii, of Samoa, to Eastern Polynesia, Col. Gudgeon's statement above seems to require an amendment to the effect that no Maori migration came to New Zealand direct from Samoa. The Maoris were fully acquainted with the names of the islands of Samoa, as preserved in their songs and traditions.—ED.

† The Rarotonga traditions treating of this incident are very full and complete, and show that it occurred in the Atu-Apai, which is the Haapai group of Tonga.—ED.

any one of these may have been the starting point of one or more migrations. I have myself been able to ascertain beyond all doubt that the so-called Takitumu migration belonged to and started from the Cook Islands, that is the ancestors of the Ngati-Kahungunu, Rongo-whakaata, Ngati-Porou, and Whanau-Apanui tribes. These people are descended from Tangihia, who is also the ancestor of the tribes of Aitutaki and Rarotonga.

There is good and sufficient reason for supposing that Savaii was not the starting point of the six canoes of the last migration to New Zealand; for it is generally admitted that the Samoans are of pure Polynesian blood, whereas the Maori is clearly the result of foreign marriages, though in the main Polynesian; furthermore the traditions of the Samoans, and the nature of their gods differ materially from those of New Zealand. We have the authority of the Rev. Mr. Turner for saying that all the gods of Samoa are held to be incarnate in some bird, fish, reptile, or insect. Even Tu the god-like representative of man in the Maori Pantheon, Tu of the angry face, the Mars of the Maori is disgraced by this shamanism. As a matter of fact we do know that the Arawa canoe brought two gods to New Zealand, one of whom (Itupaoa) was represented by a roll of *tapa* (bark of the *aute* tree); the other was a stone effigy now or lately buried at Mokoia.\* We know also that the Tainui canoe brought with them to this country two sacred stones, named respectively Tanekaihi and Moko-paru, and that these effigies were transported overland from the Wai-te-mata to Kawhia. But these things were at best but inferior household deities, and not for one moment to be compared or confounded with the tribal gods of those canoes—Maru and Uenuku—who were doubtless deified ancestors, and as such were in communication with a still higher class of god. Maori gods may be said to be purely spiritual in their nature, and therefore the result of a much higher conception of the nature of deities generally than is the rule with the Samoan, who would appear to know nothing of the great gods, Rongomai, Tama-i-waho, Maru, Uenuku, and Tane.†

The legend of Kae and Tinirau is known to the Samoans, but for the whale Tutunui they substitute two turtles, and appear moreover to be ignorant of the leading incident of the tradition, where Kae

\* We presume Colonel Gudgeon refers to the stone image Matua-tonga. If so, this is made of rhyolite lava, the common rock of Mokoia Island, and is clearly a local production. It does not, however, follow that the Maoris did *not* bring a stone image with them from Eastern Polynesia.—ED.

† We think that none of the gods mentioned except Tane, should be classed as primary gods of the Polynesians. Tane, Tu, Rongo and Tangaroa are really their gods of the first and highest class, and are known, more or less, to all branches of the race. Tangaroa was well known to the Samoans, indeed is their god-creator, and stands on a different footing to the others alluded to.—ED.

is made to laugh, and thereby disclose the fact that he had eaten part of Tutunui. There are indeed many points of divergence between the traditions of Samoa and those of the Maori. The latter claim that the separation of Heaven and Earth was effected by one of their own children (Tane-mahuta) in order that the whole world might enjoy the blessing of light. The Samoan account of the same herculean task not only differs from the foregoing, but is moreover childish; their myth is to the effect, that the heavens fell down, and that the people had for a time to crawl about like the lower animals, until the growth of the arrowroot and other similar plants pushed it up a little, and enabled Tikitiki, the son of Taranga—who had been bribed with a cup of water—to lift the heavens into their present position. In this legend as also in that concerning the origin of fire, the Samoans are evidently ignorant of the fact that this Tikitiki, the son of Taranga, was the great Maui Potiki himself—the man who lost his life while trying to banish death from the world, and to this end had tried to pass through the womb of night.

In Fornander's erudite work it is conclusively shown that the Polynesians were daring seamen, possessed of vessels substantially built of planks strongly stitched together with cinnet lashings, pitched, painted and decked over; and that these vessels had a capacity of hold sufficient to contain men, stores, and animals, and that some at least of the crews possessed a sufficient knowledge of the movement and positions of the stars to enable them to steer a course by night.

Mr. H. B. Sterndale, writing on the trade and resources of the South Sea Islands, also bears witness to the seaworthiness of the Polynesian canoe. Speaking of the Tongans, he says, "Had they been acquainted formerly with the use of metals they would have subdued all Polynesia. Their immense war canoes, at least a hundred feet long, rigged with lateen yard were miracles of patient ingenuity as regards their construction, and needed indomitable daring for their navigation."

Almost all the old writers express approval of the seaworthiness of the South Sea canoe, and the Rev. J. Williams relates that while he was at Tahiti a canoe arrived from Rurutu, 500 miles distant, and that it had a hold twelve feet deep. From this evidence it seems certain that the pioneer canoes of the Maoris were of this type, and so, they were probably as seaworthy as the vessels by aid of which the New World was discovered; whether by Columbus, or long ages before his time by the Norsemen.

Whatever the mode of transit, tradition is clear on this point that during the thirteenth century, and probably both before and after that date, there was constant communication between the main Isles of the Pacific; from Ponape in the west, to Hawaii and Easter Island in the east. The names of the chiefs who went from Tahiti

from Samoa to Hawaii, and who either settled there, or returned thence after a short visit, are still known and retained in the traditions of the last named group. The Captain Cook of Polynesia; otherwise the Hawaiian chief Paumakua—whom the New Zealand Maoris would call Paumatua—is credited with having sailed round the Pacific world on more than one occasion, and on his return from one of these voyages is said to have brought with him two white men. Many of the legendary songs of that period, describe the visits of some renowned chief or navigator to far distant lands, involving perhaps a voyage of two thousand miles; it is therefore evident, that in those days adventures of that nature were not uncommon, and that seamanship was but an ordinary attainment.

From this familiarity with the sea and its dangers, it resulted, that if any small tribe found itself unable to hold its own against a more powerful enemy, it straightway fitted out its canoe and put to sea, knowing as I contend, not only where they intended to go, but also the nature of the country in which they were about to settle. Maori tradition has this peculiarity, that no matter how far back we may go, no voyage is mentioned that does not disclose both design and knowledge. In every instance it is obvious that those who fitted out the canoes, knew not only where they were going, but also how to reach the land of their desires. It does not appear to me that there was anything haphazard in the nature of these migrations. It may be indeed, that none of the emigrants had ever seen the land towards which they journeyed; but I believe that adventurous bands of their fellow countrymen had long before discovered all the outlying islands of the Pacific, and had given such directions as rendered it easy even for less skilful mariners to find them when required.

It cannot fail to arrest the attention of those who enquire into the traditional history of the Maori, that the ocean track from the Pacific Islands to New Zealand has been known to the Polynesians from a very remote period of their history. Certain of the Nga-Puhi tribe of New Zealand, claim that 42 generations have lived and died since the arrival of their ancestor, Kupe, who is claimed by the Hawaiki migrations as their original discoverer of New Zealand. I cannot accept the genealogy to which I have referred as correct, for the names of several members of the Maui Potiki family, and others who had no connection with Kupe have been most ingeniously engrafted therein. Deducing the date of Kupe's voyage from other genealogies would make it, to the present day, from 22 to 26 generations; and, as I shall presently show, that chief was not the first Maori to visit these shores, indeed there is much in the traditional account of his voyage that would lead us to believe that he was merely following in the footsteps of others, and visiting a land, the existence and position of which he had previously learned.



The Maori tradition as to Kupe is, that he left Hawaiki in his canoe, Mata-whaorua, in the hope of finding his wife, Kura-marotini, who had been carried off by his brother, Hoturapa; and that, either on that voyage or on a subsequent occasion, he discovered New Zealand, and there left certain of his children to colonise the newly found land, after which he returned to Hawaiki, where the narrative of his adventures induced the migration of the six canoes.

Other traditions credit Ngahue—who fled from Hawaiki to escape the anger of Hine-tu-a-hoanga—with the discovery of these islands; but whatsoever the form of the legend, there is always latent evidence that the existence, if not the geographical position of New Zealand was known to these so-called discoverers, even before they set out on their voyages, and therefore, that both New Zealand and the Chatham must have been previously seen by men whose names have not been preserved by tradition.

In dealing with the question of Maori migrations we must consider the emigrants in three distinct classes:

Firstly—Those of the six canoes who are recognized by all Maori as the blue-blood of Hawaiki.

Secondly—Those who arrived in New Zealand many generations before the advent of the aforesaid six canoes; and in this class must be included certain ancestors but little known at the present day, and the date of whose appearance is somewhat uncertain; and furthermore, we must mention some ancestors whose mode of transit across the Pacific, as described by their descendants, was, to say the least, unusual and unorthodox.

Thirdly—We must notice certain tribes, who, although of undoubted Polynesian descent, yet belong to so ancient a migration that they have lost all knowledge of the circumstances of the voyage and their origin.

The six canoes to which I have referred are—Te Arawa, Tainui, Tokomaru, Kurahaupo, Mata-atua, and Takitumu, and, if we may believe Maori tradition, these vessels came as a fleet, and reached New Zealand about the same period, if not on the same day. This tradition is supported by the people of Rarotonga, who speak of a migration called the Heke o Naia, that left Hawaiki in thirteen canoes. This fleet is said to have touched at Iva (probably Nukuhiva), and sailed thence to Tahiti, and from that place to Rarotonga, where the crews of the following five canoes remained and colonized that island, viz. Arorangi, Rangiataea, Ngaia, Tumuwhehua, and Te Mata-o-te-to. The remaining eight, viz., Tainui (Turoa, captain), Te Arawa, Tokomaru, Mata-atua, Kurahaupo, Takitumu, Okotura, and Muruwhehua, are said to have sailed from Rarotonga after a short stay in order to find other lands. The two last-named canoes are not known to the Maoris, and it is probable that they may have been lost.

n route, or may have reached some other island; but the first six did undoubtedly find their way to Ao-tea-roa (New Zealand), and from their crews can be traced nearly all the tribes of the two islands. There are one or two circumstances that tend to confirm this tradition. For instance, neither the Matawhaorua nor the Aotea canoes are mentioned as forming part of this fleet; had they been included we could not have accepted the narrative as genuine, for those two, and other canoes, although they arrived about the same time as the fleet, yet did not form part of what we may call the Arawa migration, although this fact could hardly be known in Rarotonga. Again, it will be noticed that the tradition speaks of Turoa as the captain of Tainui. This would probably be laughed at by the Waikato tribes, yet shortly before his death the famous chief (Rewi Maniapoto) told me that there was a chief of that name in the Tainui canoe, and gave me his genealogy from that man.\*

Assuming that Maori tradition is worthy of credit, it would seem that every canoe load of emigrants leaving Hawaiki about this period did so in order to avoid extermination, thus showing conclusively that even in the fourteenth century the Polynesian derived the same savage pleasure from war and rapine that has ever been the characteristic of the Maori of New Zealand. So, also, the annals of Mangaia, preserved to us by the Rev. Wyatt Gill, show that even in that small and remote island the normal condition of the inhabitants was war; and he relates an instance in which the survivors of a defeated tribe were given the choice between death and emigration. Very wisely they chose the latter, and managed to reach Rarotonga, where I have myself seen their descendants living. So also with the Maoris, it must have required some very strong motive to have induced them to leave the sunny isles of the Pacific and seek a home in the rougher climate of Ao-tea-roa, where food could be procured only by severe and continuous labour.

That this view is correct is clearly demonstrated by Maori tradition, which it will not be out of place to quote.

#### THE ARAWA CANOE.

The descendants of those who came in the Arawa canoe relate, that they left their homes in the Pacific for the reason that one Uenuku, an *ariki* of the highest rank, killed and ate a dog (named *Potaka awahiti*) the property of the chief Tama-te-kapua; and therefore the injured man, aided by his younger brother Whakaturia, sought revenge by stealing the fruit of a sacred *poporo*† tree which was the property

\* It is also possible that the Rarotongans, in the 20-22 generations since the fleet called in at their island on the way to New Zealand, have dropped the first part of Turoa's name. The captain of the Tainui canoe, according to Maori tradition, was Hoturoa.—ED.

† In an ancient Arawa song, this fruit is referred to as the *kuru*, which is the universal name of the breadfruit in Eastern Polynesia.—ED.

of the Uenuku aforesaid. While thus engaged the brothers were surprised by the owners of the tree, and the younger man captured. Now, the most heinous of all offences in the eyes of a true Polynesian is the theft of food, and therefore it came to pass that Whakaturia having first been rolled up in a mat and securely fastened, was hung up to the ridge pole of Uenuku's house, and their left to die of starvation. While in this unhappy position he was secretly visited by Tama-te-kapua, who under shadow of night removed part of the thatch and thereby managed to communicate with his brother. Tama-te-kapua counselled his young relative that he should jeer at the people of the house whenever they should commence the usual nightly dances and songs, and generally lead them to believe that were he only at liberty he could teach them how a dance should be executed. This advice was closely followed with the result that Whakaturia was for the time being released in order that he might amuse his captors. During the performance Tama-te-kapua, who had been lying in wait outside, suddenly opened the door and Whakaturia escaped. A very serious war was the result of this escapade, in which fortune for the most part declared against the brothers, and reduced them to such straits that they were compelled to leave their homes and search for new lands in order to save the survivors of that tribe known by the proud name of the Heketanga-rangi (migration from heaven). Among many other wild and improbable tales told of this canoe, is one to the effect that on the very eve of their departure Tama-te-kapua found that he had no man of his company skilled in navigation, and that to remedy this defect in his arrangements he cunningly persuaded the great priest Ngatoro-i-rangi, who was one of the chiefs of the Tainui canoe, to go on board the Arawa and then carried him off *vi et armis*. This like many other tales of a like nature is not true, for the said priest was like Tama-te-kapua himself a grandson of Tuamatua, and the *ariki* of the Heketanga-rangi. Moreover Ngatoro-i-rangi was one of those ancient *tohungas*, who wielded all the powers of both light and darkness, and therefore from a Maori point of view, to carry off such a man against his will was a simple impossibility.

The troubles of Hawaiki followed this migration to New Zealand for shortly after the Arawa landed at Maketu, a small party of men and women came from one of the many islands of the Pacific, with the object of seeking out the priestly chief Ngatoro-i-rangi. How many there were in the party is not known; but the names of three have been handed down to posterity. Two of them were of very high rank, and we may assume that the third was also a chief, since the genealogy of his descendants is well known, and most certainly the aristocratic Maori, would not have preserved the genealogy of a man of inferior rank. The names of these visitors were Kuiwa, Haungaroa, and Tane-whakaraka; the first two were the wife and daughter of the great chief Manaia, and also sister and niece of Ngatoro-i-rangi, and the errand on which they had come, was to inform t

latter, that his brother-in-law Manaia had not only solemnly cursed him, but also visited the altar of his gods daily, and there used every priestly art to compass the destruction of the said Ngatoro-i-rangi. Now, whether in his capacity of *Ariki* or priest, this man was of such rank that he could not permit himself to be cursed with impunity; he therefore called together the people of the Arawa migration, who at that time called themselves the Ngaoho, and urged them to build another canoe to replace the Arawa, which about this period had been burned by Raumati of the ancient tribe of Ngamarama.

In obedience to this order a very rough sort of canoe was constructed and called Totara-i-karia, and in this frail bark they crossed the ocean to the island home of Manaia. It was after dark when they arrived at their destination, and as Ngatoro had been warned by the messengers before referred to, that his enemies went each morning to the *marae* to ascertain the result of their incantations, and to implore the gods to aid them in destroying their enemy, Ngatoro conceived the idea that the easiest method of overcoming these people would be by leading his men into the sacred place, and there at the foot of the altars—where ovens were already prepared and firewood stacked—simulating death.

With this design, Ngatoro-i-rangi led his men shortly before dawn into the sacred *marae*, and having first taken the precaution to destroy the power of the hostile gods by the *mana* of his *karakia*, he directed his people to strike their noses violently, smear themselves with their blood, and feign death by throwing themselves down round about the ovens. This well conceived plan was thoroughly carried out, with the result that in the early morning the *tohunga* whose duty it was to perform the religious ceremonies at the *marae*, found the Arawa war-party to all appearance stark and stiff. Instantly the *tohunga* raised the cry, “Ngatoro and his men are dead, killed by the power of our gods.” When this welcome cry was heard, the men of the *pa*, forgetting their weapons, swarmed out eager to see the wonderful sight; but as they gazed, those dead men sprang to their feet, weapon in hand, and soon only a few fugitives remained of those who had gone forth to rejoice over their dead enemies. This battle is known by the name of Ihu-motomotokia (bruised noses) and the defeated tribe were the Tini-o-te-Manahua.\*

Tradition relates that Ngatoro defeated another war party that had been raised by his arch enemy Manaia, and then satisfied that he had avenged the insults offered to him by that man, returned to New Zealand. He and his wife (Kearoa) took up their abode at the Matarehua *pa* on the Island of Motiti, in the Bay of Plenty, but his companions betook themselves to the mainland and explored the country, as far as Cape Colville on the one hand, and Whanganui on

\* The Tini-o-te-Manahua still live at Poutouaroa (Ivirua) on the Island of Mangaia.



the other. Meanwhile Manaia was not idle ; he burned to avenge the disgrace of the two defeats, and not only collected a numerous arm of friends and relatives, but also followed closely in the wake of Ngatoro-i-rangi and his friends. The first intimation this chief had of the presence of his enemies, was the appearance of their flotilla on the promontory, on which Matarehua was built. Ngatoro-i-rangi was now in great danger for he was alone on the Island. He was, however, equal to the occasion, for standing on the point of land nearest to his enemies, he boldly welcomed them, and advised that they should anchor where they then were, as it was too late in the afternoon to admit of a decisive battle being fought, and he finished his speech by offering battle at daybreak on the following morning.

This advice was accepted, and the tribes of Hawaiki anchored in semicircle round the ocean face of the *pa*. Then Ngatoro-i-rangi, having succeeded in obtaining the required delay, went to his *maro* and there exerted all his priestcraft in order to destroy the flotilla. To this end he invoked the aid of all those gods who were subservient to him, and called upon the winds of night and the powers of darkness. By these means he raised a violent storm, and in the morning nothing was left of the fleet of canoes—only dead men were to be seen, whose bodies, half buried in the sand, strewed the beach. The name given to this so-called battle is Maikukutea, which may be interpreted bleached fingernails, and it was so given because the fingers and toes of the dead were to be seen just protruding above the sand.

Fortified by this tradition and by other information handed down to them by their ancestors, the Arawa tribe, who of all the Maori people are the best informed, have founded the following theory : that they alone of all the canoes that have reached the shores of New Zealand, came here with a definite purpose of colonising the country, and that the canoes claimed by other tribes formed part of the fleet of Manaia, which, as I have said, was altogether shattered or dispersed by the wizard power of Ngatoro-i-rangi ; it therefore follows that although these canoes did come to our shores, yet their crews were merely a remnant of those who escaped the disaster of Maikukutea, and as such are undeserving of the credit which properly attaches to the migration of chiefs.

This is a very delightful theory and one exceedingly soothing to the self-esteem of the Arawa tribe, but it can hardly be accepted as an exact statement of fact so far as the other tribes of this colony are concerned. We may, however, concede this much, that whereas in the Arawa migration we can trace the descendants of no less than fourteen members of the crew, it is difficult to find the descendants of more than one or two men from any other canoe.

(To be continued.)



MEMOIRS OF THE BERNICE PAUAAHI BISHOP MUSEUM  
OF POLYNESIAN ETHNOLOGY AND NATURAL HISTORY, Vol. I.  
No. 4. ANCIENT HAWAIIAN STONE IMPLEMENTS, BY WILLIAM  
BRIGHAM, A.M. PUBLISHED AT HONOLULU, H.I. AT THE  
BISHOP MUSEUM PRESS, 1902.

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A VERY important memoir under the above title has just been issued from the Museum Press at Honolulu, the author of which has had a long experience of thirty-six years in intimate contact with the Hawaiians, and has a thorough knowledge of their ethnology. It is on this personal knowledge that he bases his descriptions and suggestions, and he has for examples to illustrate his remarks excellent plates of the large and valuable collections of stone implements gathered by him and others in the well-known museum with the much hyphenated name. He recounts in a most interesting preface how he has talked with those who witnessed the great social change in 1820, when asked says, "one era was at an end, another was on the threshold," and how he has rescued from oblivion many an almost forgotten custom and fact. The information is the more valuable as it has been derived in nearly all cases from original sources, and has not been compiled from the books and reports of the early voyagers. A series of similar publications is promised on wood-work, mats, and baskets, house building and a large number of interesting ethnological subjects, and we can only hope that they will be as full and complete as the chapter under notice.\* The writer commences by pointing out that until little more than a century ago stone, bone, or shell served as the material for all tools, and that our information on the character of the stone-work of the Polynesian area is quite insufficient at the present term to profitably discuss the probable evolution of the weapons, tools, and ornaments which are found wrought in the material.

He points out that the mere existence of such an article as a canoe argues the possession of effective cutting tools, and that local

\* A most interesting and beautifully illustrated memoir on the feather-work of the Hawaiians has already appeared as part of this series.—Ed.

conditions and circumstances must largely influence the character and shape of even the simplest tool.

In the very earliest pages the subject matter is illustrated by very excellent process blocks, and nearly every page bears representation of an object of interest—not always Hawaiian, but useful for a comparison with Hawaiian forms. On page 8 are figured huge stone hammers used as "Canoe-breakers." Surely this destructive pastime must have been of rare occurrence, and if hewn out of a solid tree, like the hull of a Maori canoe, must have been the task for a giant. Doubtless, however, much damage might have been done by such means to the fittings and gear. The author here makes an apt remark, "let us remember that the simpler the tool the more varied it uses. The grooved pebble can be an active hammer or a passive sinker to a net," and "while it is certainly convenient to call or label a specimen by a definite name, another person may prefer another designation for which he considers the more important rôle the article may play."

In treating of the material used, the obsidian weapons and tools from Rapanui are mentioned and figured, and the use of obsidian in New Zealand alluded to. Apparently however none of the flakes so common in the middens of old settlement on the shores of the North and South Islands of New Zealand are in the Hawaiian museum collection. Sling-stones,\* anchors, and grinding stones are then discussed with many another implement and tool, not forgetting a very ancient toilet appliance consisting of a flattened disc of hard cellular lava with which the Hawaiian of old cultivated bodily cleanliness in default of soap or suitable sand.

We shall look forward with interest to the figure promised in a future part of the Hawaiian ornament in shell, which suggests to the author a comparison with New Zealand *Hei-tiki*. Two interesting stone pounders apparently of Taranaki trachyte are figured on page 2 and two others of more usual type at figure 22, and as an example of the lavish way in which illustrations are given, we have on the opposite page a full-page plate of stone-headed clubs from New Guinea and the Bismark Archipelago. The portion devoted to *poi* pounders is very interesting as the local variations in form seemed to have been well worked out. There is a slight slip on page 49 where it is stated that the Maoris beat fern-root in a bowl. The beating or pounding of the *hinau* berries might have been done in that way, but not the

\* The Sling-stones illustrated in Plate XXXI, and called *Ma'a*, are identical with those of Niue Island, but in the latter case they are thrown by the hand without the aid of a sling. They are called *maka*, and are usually made of stalactite.—ED.

separation of the outer portion of the fern-root from the mucilaginous portion within.

Passing from the *poi* pounders we come to the consideration of a series of hollowed stones used either as dishes or plates, cups or bowls, or as lamps, finishing with a splendid specimen of a stone sorcery lamp from Tahiti, of which unfortunately the size is not given.

In nearly all the other figures a scale is introduced and careful and elaborate measurement given in the text. In New Zealand only a few stone bowls have been found, and those seemed to have been used for lamps. Wood seems to have been preferred for *Kumete* and bowls by the Maoris. The Hawaiian polished stone mirrors are quite a unique conception, and it would be interesting to know if their manufacture and use can be traced to ancient times.

The photograph of a pile of Maika stones, and the description of the game in which they are used, reveals a kind of prehistoric bowling club, and incidentally we have a good description of the method adopted by the inhabitants of the Western Pacific in drilling and cutting disks of stone and shell by means of twisting a loaded hollow bamboo, aided by water and sand.\* The last twenty-five pages treat of the axes and adzes, and the author does not think with Moseley (The Voyage of the "Challenge") that the Hawaiian adze is closely allied to the New Zealand form. The figure of a Maori-carved adze handle is given at figure 90, but the adze is without the proper lashing to attach it to the handle. At the end of the volume are 35 plates, many of which are capital reproductions of magnificent photographs. It is rarely that we find such a combination of excellence on the part of the photographer, the blockmaker, and the printer. Add to this a careful and painstaking author and a good collection to work on, we may well be content and may hope that the Trustees of the Bernice Pauahi Museum will continue to issue succeeding parts and maintain the present high level of excellence.

Cannot however the wire stapling of the pages be dispensed with and some other process adopted to keep the sheets together, as the book does not open well and if kept in a damp place the wire is soon rusted and the paper thereby soiled.

If one may hazard an opinion from the mere inspection of a photograph, I should suggest that both of the handled hammer-stones on page 7 are Australian. I do not personally know of any instance of Maoris using this device, nor do I know any authority that they did do so.

A. H.

\* The *maika* stones illustrated in figure 68, page 69, are identical in shape with the *Pua*, referred to in notes 154, 155, in last issue of the JOURNAL.—ED.





## THE VIGESIMAL SYSTEM OF ENUMERATION

BY J. J. LARGE, AITUTAKI.

IN the June 1901 number of the Polynesian Society's Journal there appeared an article under the above heading, by Professor Thomas, and a request was made that members would furnish any information they had collected on the subject. The following is a brief account of the ancient system of enumeration in use in this Island, and, with small modifications, throughout the Cook group prior to the advent of foreigners, who shortened and simplified the system into its present European standard. The numerals up to ten were the same then as they are now, viz., *Tai*, 1; *Rua*, 2; *Toru*, 3; *Au*, 4; *Rima*, 5; *Ono*, 6; *Itu*, 7; *Varu*, 8; *Iva*, 9; and *Ngauru*, 10. The latter was formerly *Ngaungauru*, as *Ngaungauru ma rima*, 15, literally 10 and 5. It is now, however, shorn of the first syllable. The natives of this group were in the habit of counting by pairs; for instance, 10 twos made *Okotai takau* = 20, or one score; 10 *takau* (score) made *Okotai rau* = 200; and 10 *rau* made *Okotai mano* = 2000. Anything beyond this was generally designated *E tini*, or *E mano tini*, meaning a very great number. A correlative system of enumeration was also used indifferently with the above. This was distinguished by the prefix *Oko*: for instance, *Okorua* was 20 doubled, or 40; *Okotoru*, 60, and so forth, up to *Okoiva*, which was 180; but it seems to have been confined to those limits. The verbal particles *E*, *ka*, *kua*, also *tua* and *taki*, were, and are in use here in connection with the numerals, also the conjunction *ma*, in much the same sense as they are now used in New Zealand. The particle *kati*, used in the same sense as the particle *E* above mentioned, appears to have been peculiar to Aitutaki, i.e., *kati rua*, &c. *Nga tuma*, meaning an addition or excess, was also in common use in this group in connection with the numerals. According to the above, 26 would be expressed, *Okotai takau nga tuma e ono*, i.e., 20 plus 6; while 30 was, *Takau ma raungauru*.

and 40, *E rua takau* (or *Okorua*); 75 would be *E toru takau* (or *Okotoru*)  
*ma raungauru nga tuma e rima*. *Okorima* (or *e rima takau*) was 100.  
The number 250 would be expressed, *Okotai rau e rua takau ma raungauru*;  
while 1353 was, *E ono rau e itu takau ma raungauru nga tuma e toru* (that is, six 200's, 7 score, and 10 with 3 added); 2195  
was, *Okotai mano okoiva* (or *e ira takau*) *ma raungauru nga tuma e rima*.  
The above numerical system and nomenclature, with slight modifications,  
appears to have obtained in New Zealand at one time; but that is not surprising  
considering the close affinity between these two branches of the Polynesian race.  
In the New Zealand dialect *takau* becomes *tekau*, and now signifies 10 (though it was formerly, I believe, double  
that number), and there were other slight differences. But this cumbrous  
method of counting has been long disused in the latter country, and it is, also,  
nearly obsolete in this group. Under the system now in vogue in this group  
the above number, 1353, would be expressed, *Okotai tausani e toru anere e rima ngauru ma toru*—  
“tausani” and “anere” being corruptions of the English words “thousand”  
and “hundred.” The New Zealand system, where the pure Maori words  
*mano* is used to express 1000 and *rau* 100, is, to my way of thinking,  
a great improvement.

This defect obtains to a very great extent throughout this Cook Islands  
language. The early Missionaries, in their translations of the Bible and  
other books, used foreign words (Hebrew, Latin, Greek, &c.) where they  
could not find equivalents in the native language, and (unwisely, I think)  
retained the foreign spelling to a considerable extent, introducing such  
letters as *s*, *b*, *d*, &c, instead of rendering the words into a form that  
could be pronounced by the Maori tongue, as was done in the case of the  
New Zealand translations. To this day a great majority of the natives  
here are unable to pronounce these letters, and render such words as  
“ekalesia” and “Maseli” as if they were spelt ekaretia and Matere.  
It has also led the natives to corrupt their own language. In many  
instances, in their letters to each other, they use *l* instead of *r*, *d*  
instead of *t*, *b* instead of *p*, &c, a practice leading to confusion and  
obscurity.



## NOTES AND QUERIES.

[158]

In looking through an old Maori newspaper (*Waka Maori*, 1875) I came upon a letter from Tamati Reina of Whangaeu. He alludes to the coming of Turi in the "Aotea" canoe, and relates that his (Turi's) god arose out of the depths and caught hold of the point of the paddle of the steersman or director, Tu-tangatakiu. As a sacrifice a man named Tapō was cast overboard, but, as he touched the water the god arose at his side and said, "When the blazing star of the morning appears you and I will have reached the shore." (*Hina mai te whetu pukana nui o te ata ko taua kua u ki uta*).\* Turi drew the man into the canoe again and accepted him as priest and prophet. This, however, is not the part to which I wish to draw attention; it is as follows:—

Ka timata he take atua Maori noku, no mua tae noa mai ki te takiwa i tae mai nei te Pakeha, he atua ika no te moana, ko Rongomai te ingoa, e ora nei ano. Ko toku tangata i tangohia e taua atua ika ko Rapati. Ka rua ona tau i ngaro atu ai taua tangata i a matou, a tae atu ana ki Ingarangi i roto i aua tau e rua. Te hokinga mai ki a matou he kahu Pakeha ona kahu, he kohuai *paraikete*, he *rerihate*; kaore ano tera kahu kia kitea ki konei. Kua kotahi rau e rua tekau tau tona wehenga i naianei to taua tangata i tangohia ra.

From that time down to the advent of the *Pakeha* we had a Maori god, a fish-god of the sea, whose name was Rongomai, and he still lives in the sea. This fish-god once carried away one of our people named Rapati. He was absent from us for two years, and during that time had visited England. When he came back he was clothed in *Pakeha* garments, a yellow blanket and a red shirt—the like of which had never before been seen in this land. It is one hundred and twenty years ago since this occurred.

If Tamati Reina's account is correct, it would give us A.D. 1755 as the time of Rapati's adventure. Cook first sighted New Zealand in 1769. Can any of our readers tell us anything about Rapati?—EDWARD TREGEAR.

\* See this Journal, vol. ix. p. 224.

### [159] Stone Axes of Manahiki Island.

In a recent communication from Colonel Gudgeon, of Rarotonga, he says:—"I may mention that the Manahiki people used to make stone axes out of a hard species of coral called *kakaraia*, which is said to have been as hard as marble and quite as effective for the purpose of axe-making as any ordinary (volcanic) stone. The interesting thing in the above is the name *kakaraia*. At the mouth of the Tauhoa River in the Kaipara District, north of Auckland, there was, in the sixties, a native settlement in a little bay, named Kakaraia. The surrounding country sandstone, but on the beach are to be found numerous hard flinty-looking stones of a jasperoid nature. I have never met the name Kakaraia elsewhere nor do I know the word in the Maori language other than in this place name. It is probable that the name arises from this flint-like stone, the name of which has been brought from Hawaiki, but is now obsolete, and is connected with the Manahiki name for "marble-like stone."—S. PERCY SMITH.

## 60] Greenstone or Jade at Niue.


Mr. Maxwell, Government Resident at Niue, or Savage Island, writes to us, "I obtained a stone axe recently; it was dug up in a cultivation. It is very ancient and undoubtedly made of greenstone, but of inferior quality to that of New Zealand. . . . I have been making enquiries about it, but can not learn that the natives have any record of it. It has evidently been lost for ages, and was only found when making a cultivation. The old men say it is a stone which does not occur in Niue, but although they say the *toki-uli* (black volcanic stone axes) were brought from Samoa, they can give no explanation as to where this greenstone came from. I do not think there can be the slightest doubt as to its being greenstone, though the axe is more roughly made than those of New Zealand. It is extremely hard, and as there is no sandstone in Niue, there would be great difficulty grinding it into shape here." This is a find of great importance, and shows communication in former times either with New Zealand, New Caledonia, or New Guinea.—ED.



## OBITUARY.

**Mr. D. C. Wilson**, of Whangarei, County Engineer, died 22nd August. He was an old settler of over fifty years standing, and had seen many changes in the north of Auckland during his long residence there. For many years he was actively engaged as a surveyor in preparing lands for settlement. He died respected by all who knew him, and was followed to the grave by a very large number of friends on the 24th August. Mr. Wilson was one of our original members, and will be a great loss to us, for, whilst never having written much for the "Journal," he was always willing and ready to supply information from his stores of Maori knowledge. He was a wonderful penman, and within a month of his death wrote out the Lord's Prayer in a space equal to one-nineteenth the size of a threepenny-bit.

Another of our original members, **Mr. Arthur S. Atkinson, F.L.S.**, passed away at his residence, Nelson, on the 11th December, 1902. Mr. Atkinson was an old settler, having arrived in New Zealand in the early fifties, and has borne his share of the pioneer work of settlement. He very early took a great interest in the Maori language, and has studied it more deeply and scientifically than anyone else. He had accumulated a large amount of matter dealing with the Polynesian languages, but has not published any portion of it, being restrained partly by a natural modesty, and partly by a desire to complete his work and place it beyond the range of possibility of error. We trust, however, that the mass of information he had accumulated may yet be made available for students, and allow them to continue on from the point at which Mr. Atkinson was obliged to leave off owing to a serious illness which affected him for the last few years of his life. He has ever shown the greatest interest in our work, and his loss will be much felt.



# TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS

## POLYNESIAN SOCIETY.

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A MEETING of the Council was held in New Plymouth, on 19th December, 1902. Correspondence was dealt with, and the following new members elected :—

- 347 William Dawson Webster, New Plymouth
- 348 Patrick Clark, c/o Wilkie & Co., Dunedin
- 349 T. E. Donne (representing Tourist Department), Wellington

Papers received :—

- 246 Review of "Memoirs Pauahi Bishop Museum." A. Hamilton.
- 247 Notes on the *Rahui*. Elsdon Best.
- 248 Maori *Waiatas*. G. H. Davies.
- 249 The Taranaki Coast, early nineteenth century. Te Watene Tau-ngatara.
- 250 The Story of Iro of Aitutaki Island. J. T. Large.

It was decided to hold the annual meeting on Tuesday, the 27th January, 1903, the Municipal Buildings, New Plymouth, at 8 p.m.

The following is a list of Exchanges, &c., received since last issue of the JOURNAL :—

- 1358-9 *The Geographical Journal*. July-August, 1902.
- 1360 *Luzac's Oriental List*. May-June, 1902.
- 1361 *Science of Man*. August, 1902.
- 1362-3-4 *Na Mata*. July, August, September, 1902.
- 1365-6 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. July, August, 1902.
- 1367 *Records of the Australian Museum*. Vol. iv. 7
- 1368 *Queen's Quarterly*. July, 1902.
- 1369 *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1901.
- 1370-1 *Maori Art*. Parts iv. and v.
- 1372 *Archivio per L'Anthropologia*. Vol. xxxii, 2-1902.
- 1373 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*. Deel xlv. 4.
- 1374 *Notulen van de Algemeene, &c., Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Deel xl. 1.
- 1375 *Abstract Proceedings of Linnean Society of New York*. 1893.
- 1376 *Nāgarakrētāgama—Bataviaasch Genootschap*. Deel liv. 1 stuk.
- 1377 *The Geographical Journal*. Vol. xx. No. 3.
- 1378 *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain*. Vol. xxxii. June, 1902.
- 1379 *Luzac's Oriental List*. August, 1902.
- 1380 *Science of Man*. Vol. v. No. 8.
- 1381 *Les Peuples L'Indo-Chine, par Léon De Rosney*. 1874.
- 1382 *Plates . . . British Collection of Antiquities, Central Asia, Asiatic Society Bengal*. 1901.
- 1383-4-5-6-7 *Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal*. Parts cccxci., cccxcii., cccxev., cccxcvi., cccxcvii. 1901.

- 1388 *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*, Batavia.  
Deel xlv. 1902.
- 1389 *The Geographical Journal*. October, 1902.
- 1390 *Transactions and Proceedings, Third General Meeting Library Association of Australasia*. 1902.
- 1391 *Report of the Australian Museum for 1901*.
- 1392 *Annales de la Faculté des Sciences de Marseilles*. Tome xii., 1902.
- 1393 *Revue de l'Ecole d'Anthropologie de Paris*. October, 1902.
- 1394 *Dagh Register*. Casteel Batavia, 1643-1644. 1902.
- 1395 " " " " 1675. 1902.
- 1396 *Directors' Report, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum*. 1901.
- 1397-8 *Pipiwaharauoa*. October, November, 1902.
- 1399 *Na Mata*. November, 1902.
- 1400 *Science of Man*. October, 1902.
- 1401-6 *Memorias de la Real Academia de Ciencias y Artes de Barcelona*.  
Vol. iv. 20, Vol. iv. 25.
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